

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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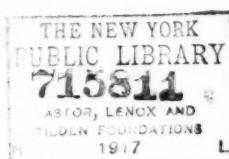
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VOLUME X

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ИГОРЬ ВАСИЛЬЕВ
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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1916.

SOPHOCLES' *ELECTRA* 1074 SQQ.

πρόδοτος δὲ μόνα σαλεύει
 'Ηλέκτρα, τὸν ἀεὶ πατρὸς
 δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὥπως
 ἀ πάνδυρτος ἀηδών κτέ.

As far as I know, Kaibel is the only champion of the soundness of our text in this passage. In his edition of the *Electra* he has the following note: 'Zu τὸν ἀεὶ πατρὸς ist, wie Haupt gezeigt hat (Op. II. 301), der Nominalbegriff (wie στεναγμόν) aus dem Verbum zu ergänzen, genau wie in μίαν δικάζειν, διττὴν πᾶσαι u. a. statt des Adjektivs steht das durch den Artikel gestützte Adverbium, vgl. Arist. *Ran.* 191 νεναυμάχηκε τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν und das sprüchwörtliche τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς (δρόμον) τρέχειν. So ist auch der Komikervers (fr. adesp. 104 K) ganz in Ordnung ἐγὼ τὸν ἄλλον, ἄνδρες, ἐτεθνήκη πάλαι ἀπανθ', δν ἔξην, wo zu ἔξην und also auch zu ἐτεθνήκη sich ein Nominalbegriff wie βίον oder χρόνον von selbst ergänzt; denn auf ein bestimmtes Nomen kommt nichts an, da kein Grieche tatsächlich ein Nomen ergänzte, sondern den Begriff aus dem Verbum heraushörte.' He concludes: 'So unzweifelhaft richtig Haupts Erklärung ist, so pflegt man sie neuerdings doch wieder zu ignoriren oder zu verwerfen und die allerungläublichesten "Emendationen" zu bevorzugen.' With the latter part of his assertion I fully agree, and am prepared to throw all emendations that have been so far suggested overboard. But with due diffidence I beg to try my hand once more at emending this passage, as I firmly believe that Sophocles has not written it as handed down to us. τὸν ἀεὶ . . . στενάχουσ' is intolerably weak. It is far more likely that we have here a case of the wrong division of words. In uncials we should have read: ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑΤΟΝ, which ought to have been transcribed 'Ηλέκτρη ἀτον. I therefore read—

πρόδοτος δὲ μόνα σαλεύει
 'Ηλέκτρη' ἀτον ἀεὶ πατρὸς
 δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὥπως
 ἀ πάνδυρτος ἀηδών, κτέ.

Jebb's translation would run: 'Electra, forsaken, braves the storm alone; she bewails alway, hapless one, her father's fate *insatiably*, like the nightingale unwearyed in lament.'

And this correction is admirably borne out by another passage in the same piece, a passage which is remarkable for its close similarity both in word and thought, viz., 121 sqq.:

ώ παῖ, παῖ δυστανοτάτας
 'Ηλέκτρα ματρός, τίν' ἀεὶ τάκεις ὡδ' ἀκόρεστον οἴμωγὰν
 τὸν πάλαι ἐδολερᾶς ἀθεώτατα
 ματρὸς ἀλόντ' ἀπάταις Ἀγαμέμνονα
 κακῷ τε χειρὶ πρόδοτον.

In this passage ἀκόρεστον reflects ἀτον as restored. In Homer we find ἀκόρεστος (ἀκόρητος) and ἀτος used as synonyms.

Cf. Apollon. *Lex.* 46, 1, ἀτος · ἀκόρεστος. It is therefore not surprising to find ἀτον in lyrics. I may note that this emendation gives more weight to Baunack's correction in the Delphian inscription, 2561 C., v. 32, *Sammlung der griech. Dialektinschriften*, Collitz-Bechtel, who proposes ἀτος 'satietas' for the unintelligible ἄγος:

τηνεῖ δ' ἐν ἀτος ἔστω (sc. ὀτοτύζεν).

In Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, 848 (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) we may have to do with another wrong division of words. In the best MS. the paroxytone accent points to διδύμαι. It may be possible that the original letters were ΔΙΔΤΜΑΙΑΝΟΠΑΚΑΚΑ, which ought to have been transcribed, δίδυμ' αἰλάν' ὄρα κακά. Scholars as a rule (Nauck, Kaibel) doubt the existence of an adjective αἰλανός, which they consider to be a late formation from the adjective αἰλανής. But we must note that Hesychius knew the neuter αἰλανόν · χαλεπόν, αἰλόν. For fuller information I may refer to Schmidt's edition, p. 67, 65. Wilamowitz says: 'fuerit, puto, φανερὰ δὴ κακά.' But the change is too violent. The singular ὄρα I would explain with Wecklein as a dialogue between two choreutae. He says, 833-836 (847-860, Wilamowitz): 'duo, ut uidetur, choreutae colloquuntur.'

A. διπλαῖν μερίμναιν δίδυμ' αἰλάν' ὄρα κακά.
 B. αὐτοφόνα δίμορα τέλεα τάδε πάθη τί φῶ;

I may now turn to another epic word used by Sophocles in lyrics. In the newly-discovered *Indagatores*, verses 71-2, we read:

προφήνας
 ἀρίζηλα χρυσοῦ παραδείγματα.

Münscher (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1914, p. 171) bases his interpretation of ἀρίζηλα on the Hesychian gloss:

ἄρι· μεγάλως. ὅθεν καὶ ἀρίζηλος ὁ μεγάλως ζηλωτός.

I grant that *ἀρίζηλος* may have occurred in this sense, but when we grasp the true meaning of another word that has to do with our interpreting *ἀρίζηλα* there can be no doubt that *ἀρίζηλα* has in this passage its usual meaning of 'glittering,' etc. The word I refer to is found in line 156:

χρυσόφαντον.
πλοῦτον δὲ *χρυσόφαντον ἔξαφίετε.*

We know that the *πλοῦτος* is of gold; cf. 45: *χρυσὸν στέφε*. We read of *ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς πλοῦτος*, Plat. *Legg.* 801 B. Gold is described as shining. We come to the conclusion that *χρυσόφαντος* is a compound adjective equivalent to two distinct epithets, *χρυσοῦς* and *φαενός*. For further information I may refer to Jebb's edition, s.v.: 'Index ii. Matters, adj. compound = two distinct epithets.' Cf. *Ant.* 146: *δικρατεῖς λόγχας = δύο* and *κρατοῦσαι*.

We should expect to find in *-φαντον* a passive sense, but in *χρυσόφαντον* it is decidedly intransitive. In *Aesch. Thel.* 162 (ed. Wilamowitz) we have *πολεμόκραντον* as meaning 'finishing the war,' which would become more intelligible if somebody proposed to read ICAI for the tasteless KAI at the beginning of the line:

ἴσαι Διόθεν πολεμόκραντον ἀγρὸν
τέλος ἐν μάχαι· σύ τε μάκαιρ' ἄνασσ'
'Ογκα κτέ.

As so often happens in Homer in an even contest, Zeus brings decisive victory by throwing his power into the balance to tip the scales in favour of one party or the other.

In v. 93 we have the adjective *φαίντατος*. I would now with Ehrlich (*Die Epische Zerdehnung, Rhein. Mus.*, 1908, p. 109) take *φαίντατος* as the superlative of *φαντός*. When he wrote he was naturally still ignorant of the compound *χρυσόφαντος*. So too *ἔφαίνθη* need not be derived from *ἔφαίνθη*, but rather from *φαίνομαι ἔφαίνθη*. Van Leeuwen needlessly writes *φαέντατος* (*Enchiridion Dictionis Epicae*, p. 246, 14). Bechtel (*Lexilogus zu Homer*, p. 324) and Thumb (*Gr. Gr.*, p. 229, 1; 383, 1) derive it from *φαέντατος*.

I would further point out that Diehl's supplement of line 2 of the *Indagatores*, *καὶ δῶρα χρυσόφανθ'* cannot be right, as the meaning of *χρυσόφαντος* at the beginning of the piece would be obscure.

In the *Indagatores*, Col. V. 1 (v. 107) the editors read:

φοίβδημ' ἔάν τις τῶν [βοῶν δ]ι' οὐς [λάβη].

Diehl remarks: *δι' οὐς* si recte singulariter dictum. expectaveris δι' ὡτός uel δι' ὥτων.' The words supplied are not Greek, and we have to try something else. I take *τις* as referring to the cattle, of which *τῶν βοῶν* is the partitive genitive. In prose we would expect to find the order, *τῶν τις βοῶν*. But in Ellendt's lexicon we find other examples of the indef. pronoun before the partitive genitive. The three letters *οὐς* with the circumflex must therefore point to the fem. nom. sing. of a verb in -ώω—e.g., *κι]γοῦσ'*. The verb

lost at the end can be only $\delta\lambda\phi$. With this supplement we see that in the preceding line we can confidently accept Roberts' conjecture $\eta\sigma\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$.

So the sentence runs:

ἡισθη]μένος
ροίβδημ' ἔάν τις [τῶν βοῶν κι]νοῦσ' [άλῳ

Indagatores, Col. III. 11 (v. 64) read διανύτων ὥ[δόν]. It is not the acute, but the rough breathing that must be read over the *o*. Cf. *Pap. Ox.* 22, *Oed. Tyr.* 375, where the rough breathing over the *o* in ὥστις is practically the same as the acute.

In v. 117 translate *τὸν βοηλάτην* by 'cattle-lifter' rather than by 'cow-herd.' Cf. *Il.* XI. 671.

In Col. VI. 21 (v. 153) read *ἀπορρυπάίνεται*, as we gather from the context and the formation of *ἀποθυμάίνεις* (v. 122), in which cases the preposition strengthens the meaning of the simple verb. For the composition of *ἀπορρυπάνω* compare that of *ἀπολαμπρύνω* (Hdt. I. 41).

In Col. XII. 14 (v. 303) the papyrus has:

[.] λο[. . .]ορεινη συγγονος τωστρακρεων.

The last word is corrupt. Wilamowitz thinks that it is a mixture of *δστράκων* and *δστρέων*.

Theon has the variant *συγγόνος ὁστρα*[. Why does he lengthen the last syllable by writing *συγγόνος*? Is the explanation not to be sought in the fact that he too had in his copy *τωστρακρέων*, and as a grammarian he saw that this could not be right? To my mind it is clear that he dropped the article, and consequently had a word of four syllables following *συγγόνος*.

What further change the sentence underwent under his hands we are at a loss to say. Is *συγγονος* acc. plural, or are we to take it from a verb, *συγγονέω*? Our scribe therefore could not have made this mistake. In that case we should have expected to read one syllable too many: *τῶν ὁστρακέων*. This difficulty seems to me to be insurmountable.

I would therefore suggest that the *v* at the end was added by some Egyptian, to whom as a rule this nasal sound had hardly any value. Instances of this we find scattered broadcast through the papyri. Cf. Mayser, *Gr. Griech. Pap.*, pp. 191 sq. I would suggest that Sophocles wrote *τωστρακρέψ*—i.e. *τῷ ὄστρακρέψ*, a nickname for the *κεράστης κάνθαρος*. I do not consider *κεράστης* as ‘simply an added extravagance.’ Any entomologist of repute will tell you that the *Oryctes Nasicornis* is meant. It is found in Sicily, and the male has a horn of considerable size on its nose, so much so that it can carry the female by means of it. We may specially note that in size it becomes *one of the largest of known insects*.

As regards the formation of the word *օστρακεος*, I do not think it offers any serious difficulty. It is compounded of *օστρε* + *ακρεος*. $\epsilon + a$ before *p* in Attic contracts to *a*, not *η*, as in Ionic. We find the form *ἄκρεα* for *ἄκραια*

attested by the MSS. of Hippocrates. For the shortening of *ai>e* we may compare *ποτειδεαται* from *ποτειδαι*. This question is treated of by Dindorf in the *Thes. s.v. παλαιός*. We may now add Timoth. *Pers. 90*, *παλεομίσημα*, and verses 21 and 120, *παλεά* and *παλεονυμφαγόνος*.

In Aeschylus too we find an example of *ai>e*—viz. *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 239, *ποταίνιον κλύνοντα πάταγον ἄμα λίγα*.

Here *ποταίνιον* responds to *διὰ θέῶν*, line 233. We have to scan *ποτάνιον* — — — — rather than *ποταίνιον*, with synizesis of the *i* — — —, as done by Tucker. For the unintelligible "AMMÍΓΑ of M I read "ΑΜΑΛÍΓΑ, as required by sense and metre.

With respect to the similarity between the *χελώνη* and the *κάνθαρος*, we may note the Hesychian gloss: *χελωνίας· ἡ ποικίλη κανθαρίς*.

In the preceding line the question was put:

τ[ι δ' αὐτὸν] φωνοῦν ἔστιν αὐτοῦ, τούντος ἡ τούξω, φράσον.

The answer must relate to the concavity of the tortoise-shell turned upside down. The fem. *όρεινή* points to the animal endowed with the voice. In the first lacuna of nine letters I would therefore restore [*ἡ φωνήσσα*]. For the second lacuna I would suggest *λο[ρδή]*, assuming a synizesis of the *η* before the *o* of *όρεινή*. Suidas has:

λορδότατον τὸ ἀποσεσιμωμένον καὶ ἐναντίον τῷ κυρτῷ.

The synizesis of *η* and *ε* before *o* in Greek is frequent, and may be expected in a Satyric play. In fact, it is very much in point here, as the true poet by this irregularity portrays the awkwardness of the tortoise turned upside down.

This line would therefore run:

[ἡ φωνήσσα] λο[ρδή] ὄρεινή σύγγονος τώστρακρέω.

As regards the synizesis of the vowels *η*, *ε* before *o*, I may refer to August Scheindler, *Metriche Studien zu Sophokles; Die Synizese und Aphaerese, Serta Harteliana*, pp. 14 sqq.

In the *Indagatores*, v. 9, the papyrus has *έγωνκ*, which points to Scheindler's view that we must write *έγωνκ* and *έγώντ* in Sophocles. See pp. 19 and 20 op. l.

I may give another new case of the synizesis of *ε* before *o*.

In Satyrus's *Life of Euripides*, *Pap. Ox. 1176*, fr. 38, Col. I. 16 sqq. we read:

*τίς [. . .] οὐθεος [καὶ [πα]ραδαίμων
[δε] τάδε λεύσ[σώ]ν οὐ προδι[δάσκει]
ψυχὴν [α]ὐτοῦ Θεὸν ἡ[γεῖ]σθαι κτέ.*

With Koerte (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI. 1913, p. 249) I hold that the editor's emendation *βαρυδαίμων* for *παραδαίμων* is weak. He rightly points out that *παραδαίμων* is formed like *παράμοντος*.

Wilamowitz suggests *τίς* [δ' ὁδ] ἀθεος; but Hunt assures us that ἀθεος did not stand in the papyrus. He admits that the adverb ὁδ is required, as seen by Wilamowitz. So the conjecture of Diehls and Murray, ἀτιμόθεος, is ruled out of court. What the poet wrote was:

τίς δ' ὁδ' ἀπόθεος καὶ παραδαίμων κτέ.

But Satyros for the purpose of his citation does not require the conjunction δέ. The papyrus only had *τίς* [ὁδ ἀπ]όθεος κτέ. To get the anapaestic metre we have to scan ἀπόθεος — —. For the synizesis of θεος I may refer to Porson's note to Eur. *Or.* 399.

Koerte compares *παραδαίμων* with *παράμοντος*. We may now add: ἀπόμονος: ἀπόθεος as ἀμονος: ἀθεος. Hesychius has the gloss: ἀπόθεα · ἐκτὸς θεῶν Σοφοκλῆς Θνέστη. In Aesch. *Prom.* 20 we have the adj. ἀπάνθρωπος. We now see more clearly that the prepositions ἀπό and παρά in these compounds give the required sense.

With respect to the nickname ὁστράκρεος for the beetle, I may note that the tortoise is called *φερέουκος*. *Etym. M.*: φερέουκος · ὁ κοχλίας καὶ ἡ χελώνη. Now in line 307 of the *Indagatores* we read:

δέρμα κ[. .]στ[.]

Wilamowitz suggests δέρμα κ[ῳ]στρ[ακον]; δέρμα would then refer to the cowhide. But δέρμα may as well stand for the tortoise-shell. Cf. Aristoph. *Vespa*, 429, 1292. And as we require two letters before the στ it is clear that καὶ, and not κω, must be read. Sophocles may therefore have written something like:

δέρμα κ[αὶ] στέγος φέρει
(‘He carries his shell and hut’).

The editor assures us that more stood in the papyrus than is supplied by Wilamowitz. And this space is taken up by φέρει.

In line 311 I would read κοιλάδος from κοιλάς as referring to the hollow of the shell rather than κέλαδος with Schenkl, who ignores the paroxytone in the papyrus.

H. G. VILJOEN.

GRONINGEN.

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THE LAST SIBYLLINE ORACLE OF ALEXANDRIA.

(*Oracula Sibyllina XIV. 284-361.*)

(Continued from Vol. IX., p. 228.)

351 οὐκέτι γὰρ δόλιος χρυσὸς οὐδ' ἄργυρος ἔσται,
οὐ κτίσις γαίης, οὐ δουλείη πολύμοχθος,
ἀλλὰ μίη φιλότης τε καὶ εἰς τρόπος εὐφρονι δήμῳ,
κοινὰ δὲ πάντ' ἔσται καὶ φῶς ἵσον ἐν βιότοιο.
355 ἐν γαίῃ κακίῃ καταδύσεται εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν.
καὶ τότε δ' ἐγγὺς ἦεν τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.
ταῦτα τελεσθῆναι κρατερὴ ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη.
οὐ λέξει τότε τις μεμνημένος ἀλλὸς ὀδίτης
ώς δή ῥα ποτ' ἀμπαύσει μερόπων γένος δλλυμένων περ.
360 καὶ τότε δ' ἀγνὸν ἔθνος ἀπάστης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσει
εἰς αἰώνας ἅπαντας ἅμ' ἴφθιμοισι τοκεῦσιν.

(352 οὐ κτίσις MVH: οὐκ τίσις Q.—357 ἐπικείσετ' M: ἐπικείσεται QVH.)

351: As the abolition of gold cannot directly cause the restoration of a ruined city, the word *γὰρ* must be taken as referring back to l. 348: 'Enemies will make peace; for gold, the cause of quarrels, will be abolished.' But the awkwardness of the connexion suggests a suspicion that the passage has been in some way altered or rearranged.

For the notion of 'opes irritamenta malorum,' see VIII. 17-36: III. 235-6 and 640-2: II. 111-8 (in the *Phocylidea*). For the wording of l. 351, cf. VIII. 18, *χρύσου γὰρ δολίοιο καὶ ἄργυρίου πόθος ἔσται*: II. 114, *χρυσὸς ἀεὶ δόλος ἔστι καὶ ἄργυρος ἀνθρώπουσιν*.

352: for *κτίσις* read *κτῆσις* (Mai). All private property, whether in money, land, or slaves, will be abolished; and so, the cause of hate being removed, men will be united in brotherly love.

354: for *φῶς ἵσον ἐν βιότοιο* read *φῶς ἵσον ἐν β.* (Gutschmid): 'there shall be one glad life for all alike to share.' (Or, *φῶς ἵσον βιότοιο*.)

For the economic communism of ll. 351-4, cf. VIII. 28 sq.

For the prophecy of universal peace and love, cf. (*inter alia*) III. 367-380.

355: for ἐν γαίῃ read ἐκ γαίης (Mai).

356: τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. A 'harvest of mankind' is spoken of elsewhere in various senses. Sometimes it means a general destruction of the human race, or, at least, of the Gentiles: cf. Joel 3. 12. Apoc. Joh. 14. 15: Πλέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου καὶ θέρισον, ὅτι ἥλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι, ὅτι ἔξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς. . . . καὶ ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ. And this reaping is followed by a corresponding vintage, in which the grapes are cast into 'the great wine-press of the wrath of God.' In that passage the corn is mankind in general, and the reaping signifies destruction.

Matt. 13. 24-30 and 37-43 is partly similar: there also, ὁ θερισμὸς συντέλεια αἰῶνος ἔστιν, οἱ δὲ θερισταὶ ἄγγελοι εἰσῶν: but it is the tares alone that are to be destroyed; the main work of the harvest is the ingathering of the wheat, and the wheat here symbolizes 'the sons of the Kingdom.' In Mark 4. 26-29 (a different recension of the same parable), the wheat alone is spoken of, without mention of tares; the growth of the corn signifies the gradual development of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the harvest its final realization; and no destruction, even of the wicked, is suggested. In Mark, then, the simile of 'harvest' is seen in process of transition to the sense of Matt. 9. 37 (cf. Luke 10. 2: John 4. 35-8), ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι. See also the parable of the fig-tree in Luke 21. 29-31: γινώσκετε ὅτι ἥδη ἐγγύς τὸ θέρος ἔστιν· . . . γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. Thus the passages in the Gospels agree in making 'the harvest' signify the consummation of the Kingdom of God, though the application varies.

But the Jewish Sibyllist cannot, in speaking of 'the reaping of mankind,' have intended a reference to the Kingdom of God as represented in the Gospels; and τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων in l. 356 should rather bear the same sense as the τρυγητός of Joel and the θερισμός of Apoc. Joh.: that is, the words, if written by a Jew, ought to signify the destruction of mankind (with the exception, perhaps, of the Chosen People).¹ But if so, the line is clearly out of place; for a general destruction could not be spoken of as following on the ideal peace and happiness depicted in the preceding lines. Moreover, even admitting, for the sake of argument, that τὸ θέρος could here signify a *happy* consummation, it would still be inappropriate to speak of it in this connexion as only *near at hand*, and not already attained. Consequently, l. 356 must be bracketed as an interpolation.

If it originally formed part of the passage at all, it must have stood next after l. 359; for in that line destruction is spoken of in a connexion appropriate to the context, viz. as a thing *no longer to be feared*. It might be possible, with some textual alteration, to make l. 356 fit in at that point; but even there it would be superfluous; so that it seems better to omit it altogether. It may perhaps have been inserted by a Christian reviser, who felt that a description of the ideal future was incomplete without some reference to the Kingdom

¹ Is there a suggestion of the same metaphorical sense of θέρος or θερισμός, viz. *destruction*, in V. 300, ἀντὶ δὲ χειμῶνος θέρος ξεστεῖ; See l. 299 above.

of God, and who had in mind the words of Luke 21. 30, ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν.¹

In any case, the word *ἥνει* in l. 356 requires correction. It would be easy to write *ἔην* (Alexandre): but in a prophecy the imperfect tense is hardly possible. It therefore seems better to substitute *ἔφυ* (Rzach), the word used in II. 164.

357: cf. III. 572, πάντα τελεσθῆναι κρατερὴ [δ'] ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη.

358: οὐ λέξει τότε τις: Cf. VIII. 424, κούκετι λοιπὸν ἔρεις λυπούμενος 'αὔριον ἔσται.' II. 325, κούκετι ἔρει τις ὅλως 'νῦν ἥλεις θεν,' οὐδὲ μὲν 'αὔριον.'

μεμνημένος ἄλλος ὁδίτης. Alexandre corrected ἄλλος into ἄλλος: and for μεμνημένος, Rzach conjectures *συμβλήμενος*, comparing Hom. *Od.* II. 127, ὅππότε κεν δή τοι ξυμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὁδίτης | φήη ἀθηρηλογὸν ἔχειν. But as there is here no *τοι* ('you') to give a meaning to *ἄλλος*, it is better to read *συμβλήμενος* ἄλλως ὁδίτης. Such is the present dismay, that the words 'Mankind is like to perish from the earth' are the first that rise to the lips when strangers meet. In the happy future, such words will be no longer heard.

¹ The phrase occurs also in II. 158-164 (probably a Jewish oracle christianized):

αἱ, ὀπέσων παῖδες χώραις ἐνὶ θουήσονται
οἰκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι γονέας ἐν φάρεστ σάρκας
160 ἐνθέντες θάψουσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ μητέρι λάῶν
ἀίμασι καὶ κονίῃσι πεφυρμένοι· ὃ μέγα δεῖλοι
ὑπεταίνεις γενεῖς φῶτες κακοεργέες αἴνοι
μῆπισι οὐδὲ νοοῦντες δθ', ἡρίκα φύλα γυναικῶν
μητέρων τίκτωσιν, ἔφυ τὸ θέρος μερόπτων ἀνθρώπων.

(158 χώρης FR: χώραι L: χώραις the other MSS.—160 ἐνθέντες Ψ: σὺν μελεσιν Φ.—161 πεφυρμένοι Ψ: πεφυραμέν' Φ.—163 δθ', ἡρίκα Ψ: δηνάρια Φ.)

The meaning of *τὸ θέρος μερόπτων ἀνθρώπων* in the last line of that passage can hardly be determined until that of the preceding lines has been ascertained; and they are unmeaning until corrected. The passage appears from the context to be eschatological, and to describe calamities preceding the final consummation. I would propose to read: 158 αἱ, ὀπέσων < δή > παῖδες δάροι ἀποιχθόνται. | οἰκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι γονέας κ.τ.λ. The precise words of l. 158 may be doubtful; but something like this must have been the sense intended. Ll. 158-161 are in fact an expansion of the words *πενθήματα, δάκρυα πολλά*, which immediately precede, in l. 157. One of the signs of the approaching end will be the untimely death of children, and the universal mourning of the parents. The words *ἀίμασι καὶ κονίῃσι πεφυρμένοι* must be taken as describing mourners, who δρίπτονται τὰς παρειάς, and cast dust upon their heads.

The Sibyl then proceeds: 'Oh wretched men of the last age of the world, and horrible in their ill-doing, fools, who know not that, when the race of women ceases from child-birth, then is the harvest of mankind.' What is the con-

nexion of thought? The words *ἡρίκα φύλα γυναικῶν μητέρων τίκτωσιν* recall the dialogue in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, quoted by Clem. Alex. (Strom. iii. 6. 45: 9. 63-66) εἰπεν ὁ σάτυρος, Ηλέων καταλῦναι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. . . . ἡ Σαλώμη φησι, Μέχρι τίνος οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἀποθανοῦνται; . . . ἀποκρίνεται ὁ κύρος, Μέχρι ἂν τίκτωσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. (Ib. 13. 92) πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἥρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύρος, 'Οταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐνδύματα πατήσητε, καὶ ὅταν γένεται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὐτε ἄρρεν οὐτε θῆλυ. The abolition of τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας is there regarded, not as portending the destruction of mankind, but as an element in the realization of the Kingdom of Heaven; and the meaning seems to be similar to that of Luke 20. 35 (Matt. 22. 30, Mark 12. 25): οἱ δὲ καταξιωθήντες τοῦ αἰώνος ἐκείνου τιχεῖται καὶ τῆς αἰαστάρεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐτε γαμοῦσιν οὐτε γαμίζονται· οὐδὲ γάρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, λογάγησοι γάρ εἰσιν.

The obscure lines II. 161-4 become intelligible if taken in a similar sense. The writer of these lines is a Christian, with a strong conviction of the superior sanctity of the celibate or monastic life. The preceding description of parents mourning over their dead children suggests to him the thought 'their misery is the result of their own sinful folly; if child-birth ceased, there would be no mourning for the death of children. If men would but put away from among them τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας, the Kingdom of Heaven would be attained.' Thus understood, the words *τὸ θέρος μερόπτων ἀνθρώπων* in II. 164 bear the same sense as in the interpolated line XIV. 356; that is, the 'harvest,' in both places alike, signifies a happy consummation, as in the canonical Gospels; and the interpolator of XIV. 356 may have had II. 164 in mind, as well as Luke 21. 30.

359: for ὡς δή φα read ὡς φα (Mai).

ἀμπαύσει may be intransitive, 'the human race will cease to be'; or it may be transitive, with 'God' understood as subject.

ὅλλυμένων περ: the περ is not adversative, but merely adds emphasis.

For the thought 'Mankind is like to perish,' cf.

V. 474-5, εἰθ' οὕτως ὀλιγηπελίη ἔσται κατὰ γαῖαν,
ώστε νοεῖν ἀνδρῶν τ' ἀριθμὸν μέτρον τε γυναικῶν.

(I.e. the survivors will be εὐαρίθμητοι—few and far between.)

II. 25: λεῖψις δ' ἀνθρώπων ἔσται κατὰ κόσμου ἀπαντά,
ώς, ἵχνος εἰς κατίδη τις ἐπὶ χθονί, θαυμάσσειν,
ἀνθρώπουν.

IV. Esdras 16. 22-34: 'Erit . . . in locis magna desertio; cupiet enim homo hominem uidere.'

The writer deliberately rejects the gloomy eschatology of some earlier Sibyllists; his ideal is to be realized on earth, through the abolition of the social and economic causes of sin and misery; and on the way to its attainment, no sweeping destruction of the present world—no scene of 'earthquake and eclipse'—is interposed.

360-1: the Jews shall rule the world. The lines are partly copied from

III. 49 sq.: ηὗει δ' ἀγνὸς ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων
εἰς αἰώνας <ἄπ>αντας ἐπειγομένοιο χρόνοιο:

and VIII. 169 sq.: καὶ τότε <δέ> ἀγνὸς ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσει
εἰς αἰώνας ἄπαντας, ἀποφθιμένους ἀνεγείρας.

Cf. also VIII. 133-6.

Our Sibyllist substitutes for the reign of the Messiah a reign of the Chosen People, presided over by the Patriarchs.

360: for ἀπάσης read πάσης (Alexandre).

ἀγνὸν ἔθνος: the Jews or Hebrews are more frequently denoted in the Sibyllines by the term εὐσεβέες, which has the double recommendation of beginning with the same initial as Ἐβραῖοι, and being metrically interchangeable with it. Cf. V. 281, where the Sibylline MSS. give Ἐβραίων . . . χθῶν ἀγία, but Lactantius has preserved the earlier reading εὐσεβέων . . . ἀγία χθῶν. III. 213, ἀνδράσιν εὐσεβέσιν ηὗει κακόν, οὐ περὶ ναὸν | οἰκείουσι μέγαν Σολομώνιον. III. 573, εὐσεβέων ἀνδρῶν ἴερὸν γένος. III. 769, ἀγιον νόμον ὃς ποτ' ἔδωκεν εὐσεβέσιν. IV. 136, εὐσεβέων ὅτι φῦλον ἀναίτιον ἔξολέσονσιν. II. 28, ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων. XI. 24, κατ' εὐσεβέων ἀνθρώπων, of the Hebrews oppressed by Pharaoh. XII. 99 (V. 36), εὐσεβέων ηὗει ὀλέτης μέγας ἀνδρῶν, of Vespasian. In V. 384, λαὸς σόφος is used to denote the Jews; and in V. 149, ἔθνος ἀληθές. For ἀγνὸν ἔθνος in the same sense, cf. III. 266 (of the Babylonian captivity), ἐπεὶ σοι μοῦρα λιπεῖν πέδον ἀγνὸν ὑπάρχει. See also the ideal description of the Jewish nation in III. 584-599, ἀείρουσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὀλένας

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ἀγνάς . . . ἀεὶ χρόα ἀγνίζοντες ὑδατι . . . κοῦδὲ πρὸς ἀρσενικοὺς παιᾶς μύγνυνται ἀνάγνως, ὅσσα τε . . . ἀλλων ἔθνεα πολλά . . . θεοῦ ἀγνὸν νόμον τὸν (read νόμιμον?) παρέβησαν. III. 695, πάντες ἄναγνοι (=the Gentiles), followed by νιοὶ δ' αὐτοὶ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ (=the Jews).

361: ἄμ' οὐθίμοισι τοκεῦσιν. The reappearance of the Patriarchs among the living, which is implied in these words, is the only supernatural element in the piece. A reign of *prophets* is predicted in III. 581 sqq., ὅλοιοι οἰκήσουσι πόλεις καὶ πίονας ἄγρους, | αὐτοὶ δ' ὑψωθέντες ὑπ' ἀθανάτοιο προφῆται. III. 781 sq.: ρόμφαίαν δ' ἀφελούσι θεοῦ μεγάλοιο προφῆται. | αὐτοὶ γὰρ κριταί εἰσι βροτῶν βασιλεῖς τε δίκαιοι. Those passages, however, do not necessarily imply a resurrection of the prophets of old. Cf. also II. 245 sqq. (probably a Jewish oracle christianized): at the Last Judgment, first shall come Christ with the angels; then, ἥξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Τύπιστοι | σάρκας δυσάμενος · 'Αβραὰμ δ' αὐτὸς μέγας ἥξει, | Ἰσαὰκ ἥδ' Ἰακώβ, Ἰησοῦς Δανιήλ τ', Ἡλίας, | Ἀμβρακοῦμ καὶ Ἰωνᾶς, καὶ οὐδὲ ἔκταν 'Εβραῖοι. But a closer parallel is to be found in *Test. XII. Patriarch., Judah 25.*

Matt. 19. 28, 'Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel,' implies the existence of a current belief that *some* persons—probably the patriarchs—will thus sit in judgment. Cf. also Apoc. Joh. 20. 4, εἶδον θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, without expressed subject.

In the 'Conjectural Text' which follows, the piece is printed with the corrections here proposed. It would be too much to hope that the exact words of the original have been recovered; but it can hardly be doubted that the general meaning is that which the text, when thus corrected, expresses. And if so, the series of events spoken of corresponds to the history of the Persian and Arab conquests of Egypt with a precision far too exact to be merely accidental. We must conclude that the verses referring to the Arab conquest at least (ll. 312-347) were composed immediately after the last incident in that conquest, i.e. in 646 or 647 A.D.; and that those which speak of the Persian conquest (ll. 284-311) were composed either at the same time, or more probably, some twenty-five years earlier (say 621 A.D.), when it seemed likely that Chosroes would complete the subjection of the Roman power, and establish a permanent dominion. In style, tone, and attitude, the Persian and Arab portions are indistinguishable; so that there is nothing against the supposition that it was the same writer who first expressed in Sibylline verses his exultation at the defeat of Rome by the Persians, and at a later time, when his hopes had been disappointed by the overthrow of Chosroes, added another passage embodying the similar feelings called forth by the more decisive victories of the Arabs. That writer (or the writer of each portion, supposing them to be by different hands) was an Alexandrian Jew, who lived through, and no doubt witnessed with his own eyes, the events of which he speaks.

The editors of the Sibylline Oracles, in dealing with Book XIV., have handled with repugnance what they considered little better than a mass of rubbish; and the section which we have been examining has met with little notice. But it turns out, when its application is once recognized, to be worth more attention than it has hitherto received. It has incurred contempt, partly through its association with a dreary catalogue of unknown emperors, and partly in consequence of the corrupt state of the text. Even from the point of view of literary criticism, unmitigated contempt is hardly merited: the diction and rhythm, it is true, are far from Homeric, but vigorous phrases and effective touches are not wholly wanting. But it is not as a product of literary art, but rather as a historical document, that these verses invite notice. It is something to have before us, even in this brief and allusive form, the evidence of an eye-witness as to the events of a critical epoch in the history of the Roman world. But it is in the revelation of the thoughts and feelings of one concerned in those events that the chief interest lies; for the traditional forms of the Sibylline style have here been employed as the vehicle for an utterance of genuine passion—an outburst of bitter rancour and malignant glee. 'If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?' It is the voice of Shylock that speaks from behind the mask of the Pagan prophetess. Yet it is Shylock with a difference; for this denizen of the Alexandrian Ghetto, mocked at and tormented by his Christian neighbours, and brutally maltreated by his Christian rulers, still cherishes in his heart a spark of the old prophetic fire, and looks forward with unshaken faith to a happy time to come, when gold shall have lost its power to rouse men's evil passions, and when greed and hate shall be no more.

CONJECTURAL TEXT OF XIV. 284-361.

Letters and words conjecturally omitted are enclosed by two-angled brackets [].

Letters and words conjecturally inserted are enclosed by one-angled brackets < >.

Letters conjecturally substituted (not always in precisely equal number) for those given in the MSS. are printed in distinct type.

Words conjecturally transposed are underlined.

Lines conjecturally transposed are marked by numbers printed in distinct type.

"Εστι δέ τις γαίη φίλη τροφὸς ἀνθρώποισιν,
285 κειμένη ἐν πεδίῳ· περὶ δ' αὐτὴν Νεῖλος ὄριζει,
πᾶσαν τέποντίζωντ Διβύνην ἥδ' Αἰθιοπίαν.
κύριοι ἀρπάζουσιν ἐφίμεροι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
παρθένον ἴμερτ[ι]ήν· τῆς δὲ κτήτωρ μέγας¹ ἔσται
κεδνὸς ἄναξ, βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, κακὰ φύρεσι πέμπων,

¹ μέγας is awkward, and can hardly be defended. Perhaps it would be better to write <ταῦτης δ' ἐκτημένος ἔσται: Chosroes 'shall be her owner.' (I am indebted to Dr. H. Bradley

for this suggestion.) There is good authority for the use of *κεκτημένος* as a substantive; and *ἐκτημένος* might very well be used in the same way.

290 καὶ δεινὸν φρονέων τὴν δεινότατον παραβάσιν
 'Ιταλίης πα<*τ*>σίν, μεγαλοφρονέονσιν ἀρωγὸς
 καρτερὸς· ἥνικα δ' Ἀστυρίης ἐπὶ οἰνοπα ποντον
 ἔλθη, καὶ Φοίνικας ἑὸς οἴκοις [δ'] ἀλαπάξῃ,
 δυσάμενος πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνῆν,
 295 τῶν δύο κοιρανιῶν γαίης εἰς κοίρανος ἔσται.
 296 νῦν δὲ τέλος πολύμοχθον Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἀείσω.
 305 αἷμα πολὺ ρέυσει τότε βάρβαρον ἐν κονίησιν,
 306 ἔεινοις ἀξείνοισιν ὅταν πόλις ἔξαλαπαχθῆ·
 307 ὅλβιος δι τέθνηκε, καὶ ὅλβιος ὅστις ἄτεκνος.
 297 οἱ δὲ ἱερὴν Αἰγυπτον ἀπήμαν[α]τον ἀσάλευτοι
 298 βάρβαροι οἰκήσονσιν. ὅταν θάθεν φθόνος ἔλθῃ,
 299 χεῖμα θέρος ποιῶν, τότε θέσφατα πάντα τελεῖται.
 301 [†κάν μὲν δὴ φράξωσι θεόκλυντα θέσφατα λέξῃ]
 303 τρὶς 'Ρώμη "Τγιστος ἄγει μοίρην τότε δεινήν.
 300 ἀλλ' ὄπόταν τρ[ε]ις Πέρσαι Ὄλυμπια νικήσωσιν,
 304 οὐ γ' ἀν τε ἔνθα λέων, δόρυ μακρὸν [ἐπὶ] πᾶσι τανύσ<*σ*>*ας*,
 302 αἷματι τετράποδος γαλαθηνοῦ χρῶτα καθήρῃ·
 308 δὴ τότε γάρ δούλειον ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θήσει
 309 δι πρὶν ἐλευθερίοισιν ἐπώνυμον ἡγεμόνησεν,
 310 βούλας ἐμπροσθεν μέγ' ἀσίδιμον αὐτὸς ἐλίσσων·
 τοίην δουλοσύνην θήσει πολύδρις ἀνάκτωρ.
 καὶ τότε δὲ ἐκ Καλικων στρατὸς αὐτίκα δύσμορος ἥξει,
 313 δεῖμα φέρων, ὄπόταν πολυβάρβαρον <ἔθνος> ἀπέλθῃ.
 315 τοῖς κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ δώσει θεὸς ὑψικέρανυος
 314 καρπὸν, ἐπὶν λόγχησι διατμήξωσιν ἀρούρας.
 316 ἔεινος ἔεινον ἀεὶ προνομεύσας χρυσὸν ἀπάξει.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ πάντες ἐπόφονθ' αἷμα λέοντος
 θυμοβόρου, (φονία 8' ἥξει ἐπὶ σῶμα[τε] λέαινα
 αὐτοῦ καὶ κεφαλῆς, σκῆπτρον τ' ἀπορ[ρ]ίψει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,)
 320 ὡς [δ'] ὄπόταν ἐν δαιτὶ φίλη, γεύσονται ἀπαντες
 λαοὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τελέοντι δὲ καρτερὰ ἔργα,
 ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἔ[ν]υρος, πολὺν δ' ἀλαλητὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς.
 [ἐν αὐτῷς] <δειμὸς> ἐκεῖ καὶ τάρβος ἐπέσσεται ἀνθρώποισιν
 μαινομένης ἔριδος, πολλοὶ δ' ἀπόλοιντο καὶ ἄλλοι
 325 ἀλλήλους κτείνοντες ὑπὸ κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης.
 καὶ τότε κυανέας φολίσι<*ν*> πεπυκασμένος ἥξει

— — — — —
Lacuna of unknown length.
 — — — — —

ἥξουσι<*ν*> δύο ἄλλοι <*ο*>μόρ<*ρ*>οθ[ε]οι ἀλλήλοισιν,
 καὶ τρίταος ἄμα τοῖς[ι] κριὸς μέγας ἐκ Κυρήνης,
 δι πρὶν ἔλεξα φυγόντα μάχης παρὰ χεύμασι Νείλου.

330 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ————— ἄπρηκτον ὄδὸν τελέουσιν ἀπαντες.

331 καὶ τότε μὲν μεγάλων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαύτων
ἔσσονται μήκη πολυνήσυχα· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
στήσετ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πόλεμος πάλμ[ν] δεύτερος αὐτ[ο]ις·
ναυμαχίη δ' ἔσται, νῦνος δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀπέσται.

335 ὡς μέλέοι, χείρωφ' ἔσται πόλεως ἐπισήμου,
καὶ πολεμεῖσθαις σκύλευμα γενήσεται, οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρόν.
καὶ τότε δ' ἔγχωροι, πόλεως ὁμοτέρμονες ἄνδρες,
φεύξονται δειλοί, πολίους δ' ἄξουσι τοκήας.
 <ἀλλ' ὄπταν ————— ————— —————>
καὶ πάλιν ἐγκύρσωσι πελα<ς> μέγα νῦνος ἔχοντες,

340 Ιονδαῖοι ὀλέσσονται μενεπτολέμους ἀνθρώπους
ἄχρις ἀλὸς πολεῆς κεραΐζοντες παλάμησιν,
ποινὴν [ες] ἀρνύνεται περὶ πατρίδος ἡδὲ τοκήων.
κείσεται ἐ<ν> φθιμένοισι τροπαιοφόρων γένος ἀνδρῶν.

344 ἀ[ι] α[ι] ὄποστοι φῶτες περὶ κύματα νηχήσονται.

346a ξανθὰ κάρηνα πέσονται ————— ————— —————

346b ————— ————— ————— ὑπ' αἰγυπ[τ]ιῶν πετεηνῶν.

345 πολλοὶ γάρ κείσονται ἐπὶ ψαμμάθωδεας ἀκτάς.

347 δὴ τότε θῆρα μέγαν μετελεύσεται αἷμα βρότειον.
 ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτε λύκοι κυσὶν ὄρκια πιστώσωνται,
νήσῳ <ἐν> ἀμφιρύτῃ τότε πύργων ἄ[α]στασις ἔσται,
350 ἄνδρες <δ> οἰκήσουσι πόλιν τὴν πολλὰ παθοῦσαν.
οὐκέτι γάρ δόλιος χρυσὸς οὐδὲ ἄργυρος ἔσται,
οὐ κτῆσις γαίης, οὐ δουλείη πολύμοχθος,
ἀλλὰ μίη φιλότης τε καὶ εἰς τρόπος εὐφρονὶ δήμῳ,
κοινὰ δὲ πάντ' ἔσται, καὶ φῶς ἵσου ἐν βιότοιο.

355 ἐκ γαίη<ς> κακίη καταδύσεται εἰς ἄλα δῖαν.
[καὶ τότε δ' ἐγγὺς ἐφ τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.]
ταῦτα τελεσθῆναι κρατερὴ ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη.
οὐ λέξει τότε τις συμβλήμενος ἄλλῳ ὁδίτης
ῶς [δῆ] ρά ποτ' ἀμπαύσει μερόπων γένος δλλυμένων περ.
360 καὶ τότε δ' ἀγνὸν ἔθνος [ά]πασης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσει
εἰς αἰώνας ἀπαντας ἀμ' ἴφθιμοισι τοκεῦσιν.

Which of the earlier Sibylline Oracles were known to the writer of XIV. 284-361? It may be presumed that at least Books XI.-XIV. were in his possession. XIV. 296 is derived from XIII. 50, 74; XIV. 348 from XIII. 28 sq.; and perhaps XIV. 334 from XIII. 38.

As regards Books I.-VIII., I have noted verbal similarities between the following passages:

[XIV. 356—II. 164, Christian?].
XIV. 313—III. 520.

XIV. 357—III. 572.
 XIV. 351—VIII. 18.
 XIV. 347—VIII. 157.
 XIV. 360 sq.—VIII. 169 sq. (VIII. 133 sq.: III. 49 sq.).
 XIV. 303—VIII. 171 (III. 52: XIV. 263).
 XIV. 354—VIII. 208 (II. 324).
 XIV. 298 sq.—VIII. 214 sq. (V. 300).
 [XIV. 350—VIII. 324, Christian.]

It appears then that most of our writer's borrowings are from VIII. 1-216; he certainly had that document in his hands, and probably also Book III. There is little positive evidence that other parts of Books I.-VIII. were known to him; but the absence of borrowings from them, in so short a passage, is no proof that he did not know some or all of the other Jewish oracles contained in those books.

Four lines (XIII. 46-49) were almost certainly inserted in Book XIII. by the author of XIV. 284-311. In VIII. 148 sqq. the Sibyl, addressing Rome, says *τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὅκτω | πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας, ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ἥξῃ | μοῦρα Βιαζομένη, τεὸν οὔνομα πληρώσασα.* Rome will perish after an existence of 948 years; for she will then have 'fulfilled her name.' The meaning of this is that the letters of the word ΡΩΜΗ, read as numbers (100 + 800 + 40 + 8), amount to 948. If the traditional date 754 B.C. was accepted for the foundation of Rome, this would give 195 A.D. as the date of her expected destruction. Now we find the same reckoning differently applied in XIII. 46-49: *ταῦτα δὲ πέπρωται · ὅσσον δέ τοι οὔνομα, Τρόμη, | εἰν ἀριθμοῖς ἔσχεν ψηφίζομένου χρόνοι, | τοσσούτους λυκάβαντας ἔκοῦσά σε σιτομετρήσει | δία πόλις μεγάλη Μακηδονίου ἄνακτος.* That is to say, Alexandria shall supply Rome with corn for 948 years. Assuming (as a Sibyllist would naturally assume) that the exportation of corn from Alexandria to the capital of the Roman empire (whether Rome or Constantinople) had been going on ever since the foundation of Alexandria in 332 B.C., it follows from this that the supply was to be stopped in 617 A.D. Now it was in 617 A.D. that Egypt was conquered by Chosroes the Persian, and that the exportation of corn from Alexandria to feed the subjects of the Roman emperor consequently ceased. So exact a correspondence cannot be due to mere coincidence; the prediction must have been written after the event. We must therefore conclude that these lines were inserted in Book XIII. shortly after 617 A.D.; and there can be little doubt that they were inserted by the same person who wrote the account of the conquest of Egypt by Chosroes in XIV. 284 sqq. The old prophecy that Rome would perish after an existence of 948 years had not been fulfilled; the 'number of the name of Rome' must therefore have been wrongly applied. But that number must have some prophetic significance; and this Alexandrian Jew of the seventh century hit on a new application of the number in accordance with known facts, and inserted it in one of the Sibylline books in

his possession. If 'Rome' had not yet been totally destroyed, at any rate she had been deprived of one of the chief sources of her food-supply at the end of a period indicated by the letters of her name.

There was an obvious reason for choosing this particular place in Book XIII. for the insertion of the lines. In the preceding verses (XIII. 38-45) it was predicted that the Persians would never conquer the Romans as long as the export of corn from Alexandria to Rome should continue. The Sibyllist of the seventh century wished to point out that the period thus determined by one of his predecessors had come to an end, and that consequently his hopes of the final overthrow of the Roman power by the Persians were justified.

WALTER SCOTT.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE GRAMMATICAL CHAPTERS OF QUINTILIAN.

IN January, 1914,¹ I published in the CLASSICAL QUARTERLY an article on the Five Grammatical Chapters of Quintilian, in which I endeavoured to set out the general scheme of the writer and his relation to the educational practice of his time. In the present paper I propose to deal with some of the numerous difficulties of detail—difficulties both of text and meaning—which crop up in chapters 4-7. The technicality of the subject and the abbreviated method of treatment produce much obscurity, even when we have no reason to doubt the text. And as to the text, one can but echo the words of Varro with regard to philological and grammatical questions, 'librarios haec spinosiora indiligentius elatueros putaui.' The result is that these chapters provide perhaps more problems than are to be found in the same limits in any first class Latin writer—problems which, though not perhaps of much intrinsic importance, have that interest which must always attach to questions which have baffled generations of commentators. I have divided the questions which I have treated into two classes. The first consists of passages in which I feel some confidence in the text which I have adopted or the meaning which I have proposed. The second consists of those which I fear must be left unsolved, though I hope that I have been able to advance the discussion a few steps.

I.

(I) 4, 20:

adiciebant et adseuerationem ut 'eheu' et tractionem ut 'fasciatim.'

Quintilian is here speaking of two other parts of speech which certain unknown grammarians wished to add to the received eight. Although these additions did not obtain acceptance either from Quintilian or posterity, we must suppose that they were more or less in harmony with the general principles of Latin and Greek grammatical science, and shall expect to find some trace of the distinctions which they represent.

¹ As in that article I stated that no scholar appeared to have treated these chapters since 1886, it should be said that this statement, though true as far as the scope of that article was concerned, requires some qualification when we speak of the problems of detail, with which I am dealing here. There has been a

certain amount of discussion of some of these questions in German and American periodicals, and Meister's edition of 1886 has been followed by Fierville (1890) and Radermacher (1906). But Meister and Radermacher give no commentary, and that of Fierville solves few or none of the difficulties.

I pass over the 'asseverations' for the present, and come to the mysterious 'tractions' exemplified by 'fasciatim.' The older editions and some MSS. had 'tractionem,' which was amended by Stoer to 'attractationem,' and this remained the accepted reading till Halm. Spalding explained it as follows: 'talibus aduerbiis utimur, cum singulas res aut manu aut mente quasi apprehendimus et contrectamus.' So Lewis and Short give 'attractatio,' a term applied to words which denote a taking of many things together, e.g. 'fasciatim,' Quint. 1, 4, 10.' Fierville read 'attractionem,' to which he gave the same meaning. Halm, who was followed by Meister and Radermacher, restored the 'tractionem' of the MSS., but none of the three attempt to explain the meaning.

Apart from the question whether any of the suggested words can bear the meaning attached to them by the editors, it seems to me almost incredible that any grammarian, however misguided, should have segregated 'collective adverbs' as a separate part of speech. I find the solution in quite another direction. It is to be found, I believe, in these words of Diomedes, which are paralleled in various forms in other grammarians: 'aduerbia aut suae positionis sunt aut ab aliis partibus orationis trahuntur.' Compare the following passage, from Heliodorus (*Gram. Graec. Hilgard*, III. 96):

τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν (i.e. adverbs) πρωτότυπα, τὰ δέ παραγωγά· πρωτότυπα μὲν οἷον ναί, οὐ, νῆ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔχεται ἀφορμῆς ἔτέρας, ἀλλὰ πρωτόθετά ἔστι. παραγωγὰ δὲ οἷον ἐλληνιστί, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλληνίζειν παρήκται.

Heliodorus goes on to show that these *παράγωγα* are derived from all parts of speech—e.g. from nouns, *βοτρυδόν*; from verbs, *κρύβδην*, etc.

'Tractum' (tractio) then is a synonym for 'deriuatum'¹ and a translation of *παραγωγόν* (*παραγωγή*), and here signifies an adverb derived from a noun, verb, etc., as the case may be, in contradistinction to adverbs, which have no such origin, such as 'nuper,' 'heri.' A little reflection will show that this distinction corresponds to a necessary stage in the evolution of grammatical ideas. Amongst the parts of speech the adverbs were 'discovered' late.² Before this adverbs like *οὐ* or *νῆ* must have been regarded as conjunctions, while *βοτρυδόν* and the like belonged to the parts of speech to which they were attached. Early grammar did not clearly distinguish between declension (*έγκλισις*) and derivation (*παραγωγή*). Indeed even Varro regards 'Romae' as being a 'declinatum' of 'Romulus' as much as 'Romuli,'³ and Quintilian speaks of verbs in *-ito* as 'declinata' from the parent verb.⁴ *Βοτρυδόν* then was not merely derived from a noun, but *was* a noun, and *κρύβδην* *was* a verb. When the conception of the adverb as that which 'fills up and explains the signification of the verb' was reached, it is not surprising that grammatical thought boggled at the idea of bringing together words which had belonged to such different

¹ Cf. Quint. 8, 3, 32, and the grammarians frequently.

² Dion. Hal. *de Comp.* 2.

³ L.L., 9, 37. Quint., 9, 1, 12.

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categories, and that some were for a compromise by which the adverbs which had been conjunctions were regarded as adverbs proper, and the others were classed together as *παραγωγά*—hybrid adverbs in fact which belonged partly to the adverb genus, partly to the parts of speech from which they were 'tracta.'¹

Thus the fact that 'fasciatim' is a collective adverb—a fact which, if I am right, has misled all the commentators—is a mere accident. It may be asked why Quintilian gives so odd an example, instead of the ordinary adverbs in -e and -iter. The answer is, I think, very simple. An account of the 'tractions' would naturally begin with the 'tracta a nominibus.'² These would begin with the 1st declension, and the only adverbs formed from the 1st declension are these adverbs in -tim. 'Fasciatim' therefore probably headed the list of examples in the authority which he consulted.

(2) 4, 28 :

'itur in antiquam siluam' nonne propriae cuiusdam rationis? nam quod initium eius inuenias? cui simile fletur. accipimus aliter ut
 'panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi'
 aliter ut
 'totis usque adeo turbatur agris.'

Here 'quod initium eius inuenias?' means no doubt, as Spalding says, 'We can find no 1st person to "itur."' Quintilian proceeds: 'We take *it* in one way as "panditur domus," in another as "turbatur," etc.' Take what? Spalding appositely remarks that 'were the two "ut"'s absent, the object of "accipimus" would be the two quoted lines.' As it is, we must understand 'passuum huius modi.' This, he says, is 'duriusculum.' Halm apparently felt the difficulty, for he notes that Spalding would omit the 'ut's. It seems to me that there is a very easy correction ready to hand. I read either—

cui simile fletur. <tur> accipimus aliter ut, etc.

or

cui simile fletur. accipimus aliter <tur> ut, etc.

I prefer the former, as giving a better position to 'tur.'

Compare '“ris” syllaba' (6, 14) and '“tis” syllaba' (5, 62). If it is objected that in these cases the word 'syllaba' is added, it may be answered that Quintilian constantly varies his use or non-use of 'litera' with letters of the alphabet, and therefore may do the same with syllables. Also here we are thinking of 'tur' not so much as a syllable as an inflexion with a meaning. Compare also 'Consentius' (K 370), 'uerba impersonalia . . . aut in e et t literis finiuntur aut in tur exeunt.'

¹ So Quintilian (1, 4, 29) speaks of 'noctu' as a 'vocabulum' (i.e. noun) 'in aduerbium transiens.'

² As in the example from Heliodorus quoted above.

(3) 5, 21:

nam 'mehe' quoque pro 'me' apud antiquos tragoediarum praecipue scriptores in ueteribus libris inuenimus.

Lindsay (*Lat. Lang.* p. 422) would read 'mi' for 'me.' This view, which otherwise seems to me hardly consistent with the sense of the whole passage, is rendered impossible by a consideration of Quintilian's usage. Quintilian never adopts the practice which is commonly found in Varro and also in Cicero ('in "optimus,"' *Or.* 161) of prefixing a preposition governing an ablative to a quoted noun in another case. His practice is as follows: (a) when possible he brings the noun into the construction of the sentence—e.g. 4, 13, 'Valesii Fusii in Valerios Furiosque uenerunt'; 6, 23, 'si "sulpuri" et "gutturi" subicent in genetiu litteram o medium, quia esset "eboris" et "roboris"; (b) when the noun has to be expressed in a case which will not come into the construction, he regularly prefixes some substitute for the article¹—e.g.:

5, 22: in hoc 'Camillus.'

7, 27: 'cui' tribus, quas proposui, litteris enotamus, ut ab illo 'qui' distingueretur.

6, 24: in eo quod est robur roboris.

In 5, 21, therefore, 'me' must be retained, and it also follows that it is ablative, not accusative.

(4) 5, 68:

iunguntur autem aut ex duobus Latinis ut 'superfui' 'subterfugi,' quamquam ex integris an composita sint quaeritur, aut integro et corrupto ut 'maleuolus,' 'aut corrupto et integro' ut 'noctiuagus,' aut duobus corruptis ut 'pedisecus.'

Quintilian is here describing the four methods of forming Latin compound words, according as the two elements are 'integra' or 'corrupta'—i.e. altered or not from the original form. The words 'quamquam—quaeritur' have been misunderstood, I think, by the commentators. Gesner supposed that the persons who raised this objection considered that as 'fui' in 'superfui,' and 'subter' in 'subterfugi' lost their accent, they ceased to be 'integra.' Spalding and Fierville repeat the explanation. Spalding remarked that in this case no compound word could be 'ex integris,' and he might have added that on the same theory 'noctiuagus' would be 'ex duobus corruptis.' But as

¹ Except when the case required by the construction is nominative or accusative.

I may take this opportunity of correcting a slip in my article of January, 1914. Incidentally I explained the words "'gladia' qui dixerunt genere excederunt" (5, 16) to mean, 'those who use "gladia" in the 1st declension. Quintilian

might say "dixerunt 'gladia'" (nom.), if the point lay in that particular case, but as here he is speaking of a noun as a whole, he would have said 'gladiam' if he meant the 1st declension. 'Gladia' must be neuter plural, but the point did not affect my argument.

Quintilian merely mentions the theory in passing, this is not a fatal objection. It is more to the point that on this explanation 'composita' is superfluous. It seems to me that what the objectors meant was 'if both elements are "integra," is the word really "compositum" (*σύνθετον*)? Is it not rather to be regarded as two words, "apposita"?' So Apollonius (*De Cons.* IV. 316) thinks it necessary to show that *τὰ ἐκ τελείων φωνῶν συντεθεῖμέντα* have really *σύνθετος*, and not merely *παράθετος*.

(5) 6, 4:

eius (i.e. analogiae) uis est ut . . . incerta certis probet: quod efficitur . . . comparatione similium in extremis maxime syllabis, propter quod ea, quae sunt e singulis, negantur habere rationem.

Fierville's note on this passage, the silence of other editors, and the fact that I for long misunderstood it myself, have induced me to include it in my list. Fierville quotes Varro, *L.L.* 10, 79, 'in uerbis quae non declinantur analogia non debet quaeri ut in his "nequam mox uix."' He then adds that 'Quintilian has changed the meaning of the passage by restricting the category of words where one must not look for analogy to monosyllables.' He might have said that Quintilian had made nonsense of the passage—for nonsense it seems at first sight. If analogy holds good at all, why, one asks, should it not hold between 'flo' and 'no' or 'res' and 'spes'? I was for some time disposed to bring the passage into harmony with Varro by supposing 'e singulis' ('casibus' perhaps having dropped out) to be a translation for *μονόπτωτα*,¹ and to mean 'indeclinables.' But the following passages from Charisius (K. 138), 'os' monosyllabam extra analogiam esse Plinius scribit,' and from Martianus Capella (III. 299) 'as' et 'mas' cum sint monosyllaba analogia non tenentur' show that monosyllables are really meant. It follows, I think, that 'extremis syllabis' above means the whole syllable, and not the termination—i.e. the laws of analogy hold between 'funis' and 'panis,' but not necessarily between 'funis' and 'puppis.' On this assumption monosyllables would be 'extra analogiam' because no two monosyllables, unless they are identical, can have the same last syllable.

The point has some bearing on Nettleship's theory, against which I argued in my last article, that this chapter is taken from Pliny. If Charisius is right, and Pliny held the theory that monosyllables were 'extra analogiam,' he must have held presumably the theory about final syllables, with which the other is bound up. But Quintilian holds no such theory. He mentions it indeed here, but not only does he qualify it with 'maxime' and perhaps dissociate himself from it by 'negantur,' but he argues throughout in a way in which no one who held Pliny's theory could argue. Thus in 6, 25 he gives the couples 'uirgo, Juno,' 'fusus lusus,' 'cuspis puppis,' as examples of 'similes positiones'—i.e. words with similar nominatives—which are yet

¹ Cf. Mart. Cap. iii. 242, 'monoptota ut "nequam."'

declined differently. Pliny might possibly have quoted the last two pairs as exceptions to his own rule, but would he have coupled them with 'uirgo Juno,' which on his theory 'non debent analogiam'? And this is by no means the only case in chapter 6, where Quintilian regards similarity of termination rather than identity of the final syllable as the proper basis of analogy.

(6) 6, 13:

illi autem idem cum interrogantur cur aper 'apri' et pater 'patris' faciat, illud nomen positum, hoc ad aliquid esse contendunt.

The thoroughgoing analogists, when challenged to give a reason why two nouns with such strong general resemblance as 'aper' and 'pater'¹ should be declined differently, reply that they belong to different classes, 'pater' being 'ad aliquid' and 'aper' not.

The idea of relative or 'ad aliquid' nouns appears regularly in the grammarians, and can be traced back to Dionysius Thrax, who gives us as a class:

πρός τι ἔχον ὡς πατήρ νιός φίλος δεξιός.

It is explained by Consentius, K. 339, as well as anyone:

haec enim alium intellectum secum trahunt. patre enim dicto intelligas simul filium et magistro dicto intelligas simul discipulum necesse est.

But the word 'positum' has given difficulty to editors, who have mostly supposed that some adverb has been lost. Thus Obrecht inserted 'simpli-citer,' and this was adopted by Burmann, Spalding, and others. 'Nude' has been proposed and 'per se,' this last being based on the definition of 'ad aliquid' nouns as nouns 'quae per se intellectum non habent' (K. 5, 148).

I believe, on the contrary, that 'positum,' or possibly 'posituum,' is right, and that no insertion is required.

The opposite of *πρός τι ἔχον* is *ἀπόλυτον* or *ἀπολελυμένον* (absolutum). Cf. Dionysius Thrax, § 12, *ἀπολελυμένον ἐστὶν ὁ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ νοεῖται, οὐν θεός λόγος*; Priscian, 'absoluta ut deus ratio.' The scholiast is perhaps right in saying that *ἀπόλυτα* exclude other nouns besides *πρός τι ἔχοντα* such as patronymics or comparatives, but at any rate no *πρός τι ἔχον* can be *ἀπόλυτον*.

'Positiuus,' on the other hand, though I have never seen this recognized in any Latin dictionary, is the Greek *θεματικός*. *Θέμα* and *θεματικός* are used by Apollonius¹ in the sense of a word which stands by itself, and is not formed from another either by derivation or inflection. Thus *οὐτος* is said

¹ Why should 'aper' and 'pater' be expected to show analogy? Perhaps the answer is to be found in the canon of Aristophanes (Charisius, K. 1, 117) that (1) gender, (2) case, (3) termination (exitus), (4) number of syllables, (5) 'sonus' must be the same. 'Sonus' may mean accent or perhaps general similarity of sound. If the latter, the *ā* in both nouns counts. In either case the genitives of 'aper' and 'pater'

on these principles 'debent analogiam.' Charisius in this case makes a mistake when he says, 'pater patris cum faciat et mater matris, cur dissimiliter aper apri et caper capri solet quaeri' (K. 83). For 'mater,' and 'aper' being different genders do not 'owe analogy.'

² A good account of the use of these words in Apollonius will be found in *Gram. Graec.* (Schneider), vol. i., fasc. 2, p. 21.

not to be 'thematic,' but derived from the article. The personal pronouns are said to be 'thematically' declined. Properly speaking, I imagine, *ἀπόλυτος* is applied to function or meaning, and *θεματικός* to form. But the two ideas are easily interchanged. Thus Apollonius says that the nouns and verbs are more 'thematic' than the other parts of speech, meaning that they can form a sentence by themselves, while the others cannot. So, too, while Servius speaks of an adjective used as a substantive as used 'absolute,' Macrobius describes it as 'posituum.' Underived nouns or verbs, as opposed to derivatives, are usually called 'primitiva'; but in Priscian, K II. 427, 428, they are 'positua,' and in Charisius (K I. 268) 'absoluta.' But the interchange between the two is most striking in the case of the 'positive degree' of adjectives. Here 'positive' and 'absolute' constantly replace each other. It is perfectly natural therefore that Quintilian should describe nouns which are not 'ad aliquid' as 'positive.' No insertion is required, and at the most we need only make the small correction of 'positum' to 'posituum.'

But is even this necessary? I think not. In the first place, there is great facility of interchange between adjectives in -us and -iuus. Thus we find 'absolutius' as well as 'absolutus,' and 'infinitus' as well as 'infiniuus.' In the second place, we should expect the form 'positum' to be found as a translation for *θέμα*, which appears in Apollonius, as well as *θέσις* (positio) and *θεματικός* (positiuus).¹

(7) 5, 17:

contrarium ei uitium, quod συναλίρεσιν et συναλοιφήν Graeci uocant, nos complexionem dicimus, qualis est apud Varromem.

tum te flagrantи deiectum fulmine, Phaethon.

I add this somewhat trivial point, chiefly to show with what caution much of the dogmatism of German editors and critics of Quintilian must be received.

The text as above, with some variations as to the spelling of *συναλοιφήν*, is read by all MSS. In 1879 Birt, in an article in the *Rheinisches Museum*, pointed out that several of the later Latin grammarians describe this treatment of the vowels as 'episynalifa,' or 'episynaliphe,' and that they also give the same example. On the other hand, they reserve the name 'synaliphe' for the elision of a final vowel before another initial vowel. Accordingly Birt stated positively that *ἐπισυναλοιφήν* should be read in our passage. Meister, in his edition of 1886, adopted this correction. Kiderlin spoke of it as certain in his review of Meister. Radermacher, in his edition of 1906, also adopted it. None of them give any reason for the change beyond a bare reference to Birt, and the ordinary student of Quintilian would conclude that *ἐπισυναλοιφήν* was to be regarded as undoubtedly what Quintilian wrote.

¹ Radermacher has a discussion of this passage in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1905, in which he also arrives at the conclusion that 'positum' is right. But the

article shows to my mind a complete misconception of the meaning of the terms.

As a matter of fact, the correction, so far from being certain, is, I think, almost, if not quite, impossible. Quintilian is telling us what the Greeks called this phenomenon, but none of the critics seem to have troubled themselves to find out the Greek usage. To do this, it is not necessary to ransack the Greek grammarians, for the evidence will be found at considerable length in Stephanus, and indeed in Liddell and Scott. There is no such word as *ἐπισυναλοιφή* known to the lexicographers, and on the other hand *συναλοιφή* was used and continued to be used to describe or at any rate to cover the phenomenon with which Quintilian is dealing here. I submit one typical passage :

ἢ μὲν συναλοιφὴ γένος ἐστίν, ἔχει δ' εἴδη ἐπτά, τρία μὲν ἀπλᾶ, τέσσαρα δὲ σύνθετα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπλὰ εἰσὶ ταῦτα, ἔκθλιψις, κράσις, συναίρεσις . . . ἡ συναίρεσις . . . οἶον παῖς παῖς, ἀνω, αὔω, Δημοσθένει Δημοσθένει (Gram. Graec., III. 146).

How 'episynalifa' or 'episynaliphe' came to take root in the later Latin terminology I have no idea. It is not indeed difficult to understand that the phenomena of Latin elision, differing as they do from Greek, should have produced some change of terms. It is natural enough that the Greek term for elision, *ἔκθλιψις*, should be felt to be inappropriate to a process in which the 'elided' vowel was retained, at any rate in writing, or to be needed for the elision of the final 'm,' and that accordingly the elision of the vowel monopolized the general term 'synaloepha.' Why, however, the Latin grammarians were not contented with 'synaeresis' to describe the phenomenon of the dissyllable 'Phaethon' I do not know. They may, of course, have followed some side-strain of Greek grammar, now lost. But on all the evidence we possess, when Quintilian says 'quod συναίρεσιν et συναλοιφήν Graeci uocant,' he gives the correct version of the facts.

II.

I pass on to a few passages, most of which have been much discussed off and on during the last century in Germany, without, I think, any certainty being reached. As I said above, all I can hope to do in these cases is to advance the discussion by some steps.

(i) 4, 10 and 11:

Atque etiam in ipsis uocalibus grammatici est uidere an aliquas pro consonantibus usus acceperit, quia 'iam' sicut 'tam' (edd. 'etiam') scribitur et quos (edd. mostly 'uos') ut cos (edd. 'tuos'). at quae ut uocales iunguntur aut unam longam faciunt, ut ueteres scripserunt, qui geminatione earum uelut apice utebantur, aut duas, nisi quis putat etiam ex tribus uocalibus syllabam fieri, si non aliquae officio consonantium fungantur. quaeret hoc etiam, quomodo duabus demum uocalibus in se ipsis coeundi natura sit, cum consonantium nulla nisi alteram frangat. atqui littera i sibi insidit: 'conicit' (or 'coniicit') enim est ab illo iacit, et u, quomodo nunc scribitur 'uulgus' et

'seruus.' sciat etiam Ciceroni placuisse 'aiio' 'Maiiam' que geminata i scribere: quod si est, etiam iungetur ut consonans.

As regards the first sentence of this 'locus difficillimus,' as Spalding calls it, I have nothing new to say. I accept in principle at any rate the corrections usually proposed of 'etiam' and 'tuos.' Variants are possible, but the meaning must be that we write 'i' and 'u,' whether they belong or do not belong to the same syllable as the vowel following. The main difficulty lies in the second sentence.

Before dealing with this, however, it will be well to explain the third sentence, which is obscure at first reading through the technicality of the language, though the meaning is not really open to much doubt. The grammarian, says Quintilian, will ask how it is that two vowels only have the property of repeating themselves in a syllable ('in se ipsas coeundi'), while in other cases it is always different vowels or different consonants¹ which come together—i.e. how is it that we find 'ii,' 'uu' in a syllable, but not 'aa,' 'bb,' etc.? Now though the word 'quaeret' suggests at first sight that this is another in the series of 'quaestiones' which Quintilian is proposing for the study of the grammarian, this cannot, I think, be the case. The answer to the question is of course that the first 'i' or 'u' are not vowels at all, but consonants, and the problem would therefore be one which has already been solved. It is clear that this sentence does *not* introduce a new problem, but gives another reason for the belief that 'i' and 'u' are sometimes consonants. Is it likely, he asks, that 'i' and 'u' should be exceptions to the law which otherwise holds of all vowels and consonants, that there can be no repetition in the syllable? and they would be exceptions, if they were not sometimes consonants.

The connection between this and the fourth sentence I take to be as follows: If anyone objects that we do not actually write 'ii,' I reply that Cicero did so write 'aiio' and 'Maiia'; and if we accept this as right, 'i' as well as 'u' must come into the syllable as a consonant ('quod si est,² etiam iungetur ut consonans'). This connection will require that we should read 'coniicit,' not 'coniiicit.' Spalding preferred 'coniicit,' but as a matter of fact, though A gives 'coniicit' and the editors elsewhere use this and similar forms, they all here print 'coniiicit.' I share Spalding's feeling that in this case the addition 'est ab illo iacit' has no meaning. I understand Quintilian to mean, 'coniicit' really has two 'i's,' for it is derived from 'iacit.' If this seems too harsh, there is an easy correction. We might read—

atqui littera i sibi insidit <ut conicit>, coniicit enim est ab illo iacit (as 'coniicit,' for that is really 'coniiicit,' from 'iacit').

¹ This use of 'frangere' to express the action of one consonant upon another following it in the same syllable is found also in 12, 10, 29, 'illa quae est sexta nostrarum (i.e. f.) quotiens

aliquam consonantium frangit, ut in hoc ipso "frangit" multo fit horridior.'

² I am inclined to think that 'i' has fallen out between 'est' and 'etiam.'

The conclusion that the third and fourth sentences continue the argument to show that 'i' and 'u' are sometimes consonants confirms the natural impression that the second sentence also gives an argument for this belief. But what is the argument? Two views, I think, are possible. It may be as follows: Vowels in the same syllable, if not a mere symbol for a single long vowel, make a diphthong; but these ('ia' in 'iam' and 'uo' in 'uos') are not diphthongs. 'Duas,' however, cannot mean a diphthong, and accordingly Ständer and Ritschl corrected 'duas' to 'diphthongum,' a correction which, though not actually adopted in any edition, has been received with respect.¹ Ritschl accounted for the corruption by the caprice of a copyist, who, supposing 'syllabam' to be understood with 'unam,' altered 'diphthongum' to 'duas' to correspond. This is surely somewhat arbitrary. Perhaps the same result might be obtained more easily by supposing 'aut du<plicem in unum sonum confusas du>as.' But if we are to proceed on these lines at all, I would venture to suggest another solution as being both nearer to the MSS. and an improvement to the sense. Quintilian's argument will be clearer, if we suppose him to have intended to tell us that two vowels in a syllable do not really make two, but a single sound. I suggest that he may have written—

aut duplarem sonum² non autem duas.

It would be natural enough that the eye of the copyist should pass from 'aut du' to 'aut du' a few words on, and 'aut duas' would easily be reduced to 'aut duas' to balance 'aut unam' above. This will also give a good meaning, quite in accordance with Quintilian's use of 'nisi' to the words 'nisi—funguntur.' The meaning will be 'to suppose that there can really be two vowels in a syllable, and that also "i" and "u" are never consonants, will land us in the absurdity of supposing that syllables like "iae" and "uae" are made up of three vowels.'

The argument may, however, be something different. It may be: 'There cannot be more than two vowels in a syllable (there is no such thing as a triphthong), and therefore "i" and "u" must be sometimes consonants, for otherwise we should sometimes get three vowels.'³ In this case I would suggest that the sentence be written:

aut unam longam faciunt . . . aut duas (nisi quis putat etiam ex tribus uocalibus syllabam fieri) <quod nequit fieri>, si non aliquae officio fungantur.'

Here the 'quod' will refer to 'duas faciunt,' and the meaning will be this result—viz. that the 'uocales iunctae' make two, and not more than two

¹ Radermacher attempted to improve upon it by printing—

aut <diphthongum, 'non iungimus autem plures quam >duas.

Apart from the arbitrary nature of this insertion, it seems to me to make the sentence still more incoherent. Radermacher, however, confidently says 'restitui sententiam.'

² As a translation of course of διφθόγγος.

³ I imagine that editors have usually understood these words to mean, 'No one supposes a syllable to consist of three vowels, unless one of them is really a consonant.' But apart from the question whether this has really any bearing on the argument, it would surely require 'aliqua fungatur.'

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cannot be obtained, if 'i' and 'u' are not sometimes consonants. There are two strong reasons for this view. Firstly, much the same reasoning is found in Priscian (K. II. 44): 'nulla syllaba tres uocales habet, unde "u" et "i" non aliter iunguntur diphthongis nisi loco positae consonantium'—i.e. since there can be only two vowels, we infer that 'u' and 'i' before a diphthong must be consonants. Secondly, a good many MSS., though not usually regarded as the most valuable, have the words 'quod nequit'¹ after 'fieri.' In fact, the older editions, including Spalding, retained these words, though the later editions have rejected and ignored them. On the other hand, no doubt this way of treating the passage involves some harshness and obscurity. I do not feel inclined to decide between this and the line proposed above. Only one thing I feel sure of. Quintilian often expresses himself confusedly, but I believe that his thought, if you can get at it, is always logical, and if the common text, as found in Halm and Meister is, as it seems to me, illogical, it cannot be right.

(2) 4, 20 :

adiciebant et adseuerationem ut 'eheu.'

I have already discussed the words that follow this. Here the term 'adseueratio' raises no difficulty. It is presumably an extension of the process by which the Latin grammarians created the interjection. The interjection was obtained by segregating from the adverbs those which Dionysius Thrax calls *σχετλιαστικά* and *θαυμαστικά*, of which he gives as examples *παπαῖ* and *βαβαῖ*. The Latins define them as 'significantes affectum animi.'² It is not to be wondered at that some should wish to extend this segregating process to the *ἀπωμοτικά* as *μά*, the *κατωμοτικά* as *νή*, and the *βεβαιωτικά* as *δηλαδή*. But it is difficult to think that 'eheu' can be the right example. It is true that Charisius and others say that 'heu' is sometimes an 'aduerbium respondendi,' but 'responsio' is not quite the same as 'adseueratio,' and if it was, no grammarian doubted that 'heu' and 'eheu' were also interjections. It does not seem likely therefore that it would have been taken to illustrate a class which must have stood in contrast to the regular interjections.

The difficulty was felt by Capuronier, who proposed either 'ne,' which would of course do well enough in sense, or 'hem,' which like 'heu' is sometimes classed as an 'aduerbium respondendi.' It appears to me that something may be said for 'euhoe.' The corruption would be easy. It is against it that the Latin grammarians, as we have them, call 'euhoe' an interjection. But this view may not always have been taken. Dionysius does not class *εὐοῖ* with the *θαυμαστικά* and *σχετλιαστικά*, but as an adverb *θειασμοῦ*. It might fairly be argued that it was not so much an expression of the emotion of the

¹ Spalding understood 'fieri' after 'nequit' from the former 'fieri,' quoting Livy 6, 37, 7, 'obtinendum esse, quod comitiis nequeat,' sc. obtineri. I have suggested 'quod nequit fieri' as more likely to account for the omission

through the two 'fieri's' from some MSS. and the retention in the form 'quod nequit' in others.

² E.g. Charisius (quoting Cominius, K. I. 238).

worshipper as a means of emphasizing the praise of the god, and this view would find support from the line of Virgil, which Charisius quotes—

euhoe, Bacche, fremens, solum te uirgine dignum
uociferans.

(3) 5, 22:

difficilior obseruatio est per . . . accentus . . . cum acuta et grauis alia pro alia ponuntur, ut in hoc 'Camillus,' si acuitur prima, aut grauis pro flexa ut Cethegus . . . et hic prima acuta nam sic media mutatur; aut flexa pro graui, ut tapice circumducta sequenti, quam ex duabus syllabis in unam cogentes et deinde flectentes dupliciter peccant. sed id saepius in Graecis nominibus accidit, ut Atreus, quem nobis iuuenibus doctissimi senes acuta prima dicebant, ut necessario secunda grauis esset, item Nerei Tereique.

This is perhaps the most disputed passage in all these chapters. In the fourth line the MSS. are divided between 'ut circumducta sequenti' and 'aut apice circumducta sequenti.' The fact that 'apice' does not make sense (it cannot mean 'circumflex'), coupled with its absence from so many important MSS., has led editors almost universally to the conclusion that it is an attempt to correct something which was unintelligible in the archetype.

Spalding suggested 'Appi,' which was accepted by Halm. Though this suggestion has been rejected with scorn by some critics, I do not think that it should be altogether ruled out. The case for it rests on the fact that Varro, followed by nearly all the grammarians, declared that proper names in 'ius' ought to make their genitive in 'ii,' so that the genitive should not be shorter than the nominative. The case against it is that as a matter of fact such proper names continued in common practice to contract the genitive, and it is doubted whether Quintilian, with his respect for 'consuetudo,' would speak with such condemnation of a general usage. Still people are not consistent, and the strongest advocate of the claims of usage may find some particular usage intolerable. An additional reason against 'Appi' is that no explanation is forthcoming as to why anyone should accentuate it on the 'i.' Further, the sense of 'second' which must be given to 'sequenti' is not to my mind altogether satisfactory. Quintilian does use 'sequens' for 'second,' but always in relation to 'prior' and 'primus,' and the 'primam' above can hardly be brought into the argument. It is one thing to say 'the first syllable of "magister" is short and the next long,' and another to say 'the first syllable of "magister" is short and the next of "dominus" is also short.' Still, this is not conclusive, and unless some better solution can be found 'Appi' has claims to consideration.

Birt, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1879, proposed 'Marcipor.' This, he says, Quintilian 'hat ohne Zweifel geschrieben.' Meister seems to have shared his confidence, for he actually prints it in his text, and Kiderlin, in his review of Meister's edition, pronounces it 'sicher.' It seems to me that there is very

little to be said for it. The case rests on a passage of Consentius,¹ where dealing with what he calls² 'episynaliphe' or contraction of syllables he instances *Orpheūs* for *Orphēus*, and among Latin names *Marcipor* for *Marcipuer*. Birt gives so little argument (and his followers give none at all) that I do not know what he would have said to the objections that occur to me. I suppose the resemblances of 'Marcipor' to 'apice' are enough to make the corruption possible. Whether they are enough to lend any weight to the suggestion, I will not venture to judge. But one of the objections to 'Appi' applies also to 'Marcipor.' Consentius says nothing about accentuation. What reason is there for supposing that anyone circumflexed the last syllable? Further, what meaning is to be given to 'sequenti'? Whether it can mean 'second' or not, it surely cannot mean 'third.' The strongest objection seems to me to be that Quintilian says that the persons who contracted this word went wrong in doing so. Surely this is quite inapplicable to a word which, as he himself has told us in 4, 26, had gone out of use. Did he really wish that people who read of a 'Publipor' in Sallust's History should pronounce it 'Publipuer'?

I should prefer to approach the problem from another side. It seems to me that there are two *prima facie* probabilities. The first is that as the phenomenon described happened more frequently 'in Greek names like *Atreus*, it happened also in Latin words in '-eus.' The second is that the phenomenon was caused by a tendency to imitate Greek accentuation. I infer this from the fact that Quintilian above uses the words 'in hoc "Camillus,"' not 'in Camillo.' This, as I have said above,³ suggests that the persons who accentuated *Camillus* on the first syllable, did not carry this through the whole noun, but only when the ultimate was short. In fact, they adopted the Greek accentuation. And this is intrinsically probable. For Quintilian tells us, I. 1, 13, that the practice of giving undue weight to Greek in the education of boys at Rome resulted in many 'oris uitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti.' Now these two suggestions—(1) that the phenomenon in question appeared in words in 'eus'; (2) that it was some imitation of Greek accentuation are of course by no means certainties, but they have the merit of converging to a point. The Latin adjectives in 'eus,' though much more extensively used, correspond both in form and meaning to the Greek adjectives in 'eos.' 'Aūreus' is formed and accentuated as *χρύσεος*. But *χρύσεος*, contrary to common usage, becomes in Attic *χρυσοῦς*. In Quintilian's words the Greeks 'ex duabus syllabis in unam cogunt et deinde flectunt.' I suggest then that the tendency to adopt Greek pronunciation made some Romans do the same with 'aureus.' Can we on these lines supply the missing word? I do not think it necessarily invalidates my suggestion if we cannot, but I will hazard two guesses. Quintilian may have quoted 'piceus' with perhaps some other word to show that the usage was extended to words which had no regular Greek equivalent, as well as to those which had. The second is still

¹ K. 389

² v. p. 8.

³ v. on 5, 21, p. 4.

bolder, and I write it with fear and trembling. Suppose the archetype of our MSS. had 'ut appositis e circumducta sequentique, quam,' etc., 'as when the adjectives have the "e" and the following syllable circumflexed' (cf. 2, 14, 3, 'rhetorica uno modo fit adpositum, altero nomen rei'). A blot in the middle of the word would leave decipherable 'ap...ise, and I need not delay over the ease with which the 'que' would be absorbed in the following 'quam.' I repeat that I put this forward as a guess only, and do not think that its rejection need involve the rejection of the general explanation.

(4) 6, 38:

quidam non dubitarunt etymologiae subicere omnem nominis causam, ut ex habitu, quemadmodum dixi, 'Longos' et 'Rufos,' ex sono 'stertere' 'murmurare,' etiam deriuata, ut a uelocitate dicitur uelox, et composita pluraque his similia, quae sine dubio aliunde originem ducunt, sed arte non egent, cuius in hoc opere non est usus nisi in dubiis.

The general meaning of this passage is clear enough. What is meant by 'etymology'? It inquires into the origin of words. But does this include the relation of an ordinary 'deriuatum' to its 'primitium,' or of a compound word to its elements? To take instances from passages discussed above, is it an 'etymology' to say that 'fasciatim' is derived from 'fascia' or 'noctiugus' from 'nox' and 'uagus'? Quintilian thinks not. There must be some further element of difficulty—either some introduction of special historical or antiquarian lore, as the legend of the death of Argus, to explain the name Argiletum; or some ingenious philological manipulation, as 'lepus' from 'leuipes.' This is satisfactory enough. But can Quintilian really have thought of 'uelox' as a 'deriuatum' from 'uelocitas' instead of the reverse? Kiderlin and Meister regard it as impossible. The former rightly quotes 8, 3, 32, where 'beatitas' and 'beatitudo' are spoken of as 'deriuata' or 'tracta' or 'declinata'; and 1, 6, 17, where 'frugalitas' is said to be 'made' from 'frugalis.' He might have added that Priscian¹ in his fourth book, where he deals with 'deriuata,' lays down at length that 'probitas,' 'nouitas,' etc., are from 'probus,' 'nous,' etc. But he has failed to notice that Varro actually holds the doctrine which he thinks impossible. In *L.L.* VIII. 15, Varro appears to hold that 'prudens' is a 'declinatum' from 'prudentia,' and 'strenuus' from 'strenuitas.' In the face of this, we can hardly say with certainty that the text as we have it is wrong. On the other hand, the rest of the evidence leaves it under suspicion, and critics are justified in considering whether it can be emended with probability.

One way out of the difficulty, which seems to me possible, though I do not ascribe to it any high degree of probability, would be to suppose that the words 'ut a uelocitate dicitur uelox' have been transposed, and should be placed after 'Longos et Rufos.' In this case Quintilian would be giving another example of an adjective used as a 'cognomen.' I do not think it

¹ K. III. 128.

would be any objection to this suggestion, that 'uelox' is not, so far as I know, found as a name. On the contrary, he may have wished to suggest some epithet which had not, as a matter of fact, become a family name, but might easily become attached to some individual. It is a more serious objection that I see no reason to account for the transposition.

Kiderlin boldly suggested 'ut a ueloci uelocitas ducitur.' He supposes the successive stages of corruption to have been: (1) 'ut a uelocitas ducitur,' (2) 'ut a uelocitate ducitur,' (3) 'ut a uelocitate ducitur uelox.'

Meister prints in his edition 'uelo' for 'uelocitate,' relying on Priscian (K. II. 140), 'in "ox" uerbalia uel denominatiua "uoco uox," "uelum uelox".' Kiderlin objects that Quintilian would not have thought this connection obvious enough to be classed amongst the 'non dubia quae non arte egerit.' I am not sure that this objection is very serious. Different minds work differently in such matters. Quintilian may have seen nothing forced in the connection of meaning, and there is no difficulty as to form.

If we may accept this suggestion of Meister in principle, I should prefer to bring it into harmony with the MSS. by reading 'uelo citato.' This suggestion has been made by Bonnet,¹ but from a different point of view. Bonnet, who does not, I think, completely understand the passage, supposes that Quintilian means that 'uelox' is derived from the two words 'uelum citatum.' This, he says, would be a 'derivation moyenne' from the fantastical ancient point of view. I do not mean this at all. I suggest that Quintilian means that 'uelox' is a derivative of 'uelum'—i.e. that a person who is 'uelox' possesses the qualities of a 'uelum.' Then 'citatum' is added as an explanation. For clearly the 'uelox' does not possess the qualities of a 'uelum' under all circumstances, but only when it is 'citatum'—in rapid motion. If I was explaining the word 'lobster-coated,' and said that it came from a 'boiled lobster,' I should not of course mean that 'boiled' had anything to do with the formation.

F. H. COLSON.

CAMBRIDGE.

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, 1892.

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A CRITICISM OF CRITERIA.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY METRE AND DICTION FOR THE DATE OF LATIN POEMS.

I. EVIDENCE FROM VERSIFICATION.

THERE has been much discussion in recent years regarding the date and authorship of the poems included in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and about the *Ciris* and the *Culex* in particular. Evidence of very various kinds has been brought to bear on the question. My chief aim in this paper is to propound a criterion which as far as I know is new—though it seems to me a fairly conspicuous thing, and I do not know why it has not been investigated—and to examine certain criteria which seem to me to have been treated quite wrongly—treated in a way which could lead to no conclusion—even by so distinguished a scholar as Norden. I propose in a second paper to examine the argument from diction, especially in regard to the *Culex*, and to try to show that the evidence adduced for Virgilian authorship by Miss Jackson (*Class. Quart.* vol. v., p. 163 sq.) is not so conclusive as it has been supposed to be; and, next, to point out certain features or mannerisms in the *Culex* which seem to me to be on the whole *against* authorship by Virgil. I have hardly any doubt that both the *Ciris* and the *Culex* were written before 44 B.C., and the *Lydia* and *Dirae* only two or three years later; but, while the evidence for the early date of some of the *Vergiliana* grows stronger on further examination, the evidence for Virgilian authorship seems to me to grow weaker, even in the case of the well-attested *Culex*.

A few years ago I collected, in an article in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xxxi., p. 266 sq.) some of the facts about a certain type of Hexameter, that in which there is threefold agreement between accent and ictus at the end of the line:

Peliaco quondam prognátae uértice pínuš
dicuntur liquidas Neptúni násse per úndas.

I selected this because it is an effect that can be felt, one of which poet and reader must alike be aware. Nobody could read twenty lines of Cicero's *Aratea* or of Catullus' sixty-fourth poem without feeling in some degree the frequency or prevalence of the effect. I rather distrust criteria which have to be discovered by counting and which might be called infra-sensible. What I want to find is what is a perceptible fashion or tendency or mannerism which has a vogue for a time. The liking of the *νεώτεροι* for a *σπονδειάζων* (placidum mare matutino) is such a mannerism, and the facts about it were tabulated

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long ago.¹ They are given by Skutsch in *Vergils Frühzeit*. The mannerism which I now propose to examine is the use of participles and participial clauses, especially in the nominative singular. Any careful reader would, I think, say that a line like this is not Augustan :

ipse suum cor edens, hominum uestigia uitans

(Cicero translating Homer). Again, in the *Ciris* (l. 402) we have :

ad caelum infelix ardentia lumina tendens,
lumina, nam teneras, etc.,

but in Virgil (*Aen.* ii. 405 sq.) :

ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,
lumina, etc.

Of course there are endings in the *Aeneid*—a few—like ‘ardentia lumina tendens.’ It is not a thing from which Virgil was absolutely debarred, and the comparison of these two passages does not in itself assign the *Ciris* to an earlier date. It is only when all the facts have been reviewed and counted that the difference is seen to be significant.

But before producing the details of this evidence I think it is desirable or even necessary to say something about the general conditions or aspects of the problem. When we view the whole situation, what sort of evidence is likely to be discoverable, or to be cogent when discovered? The conditions are not on the whole unfavourable. In the first place, there is more co-operation between Roman poets than is common among poets of modern times. We can see the Latin Hexameter gradually taking shape in the hands of successive generations. There is consecutive study of metrical technique, as there is also in elegiac and lyric verse. Sometimes this consists in conquering for Latin a particular effect of Greek verse; more often, or at all events frequently, it consists in rejecting some Greek effect which was vaguely or half-consciously felt to be alien to the genius of the Latin language. In diction, a new poetic speech is gradually created—Ennius had made a large contribution to it—and prosaic words or turns of speech are gradually discarded. In these respects the poets of any particular generation have a good deal in common. And when we turn to the two contiguous periods, that of Catullus and that of Virgil, this is seen to be pre-eminently the case. There is a great difference between the Hexameter of 60 or 55 B.C. and the Hexameter of 30 B.C. The decade 50 to 40 B.C., or 52 to 42 B.C., is a period from which we have no extant poem (unless we can prove that the *Ciris* and *Culex* and one or two other things belong to it). For us, Roman poetry is here like a stream that flows for some distance underground, to emerge again with very different qualities and very

¹ We know also why this criterion would be of no use for dating verses of Cicero's. Probably the fashion had not come in when he wrote his *Aratea*, *admodum adulescentulus*. When it did come in, he thought it an affectation, as appears from

the well-known passage in his Letters (*ad Att.* vii, 2, 1: ita belle nobis *flauit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites*; hunc σπονδεάσσοντα si cui uoles τῶν *νεωτέρων* pro tuo uendito).

different inspiration. If we set aside the isolated genius of Lucretius, and a good deal of what Catullus wrote, it is not difficult to characterize the poetry of the time. The tendencies of the 'cantores Euphorionis' or the *νεώτεροι*, as Cicero called them, are the commonplaces of any text-book of literary history, and I need not recount them here. There is quite clearly what can be called a prevalent manner, a group of poets who have much in common. Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis*, Cinna's *Smyrna* and Calvus' *Io* were all poems of the same general type. And, to select one or two illustrations in detail, it is not an accident that out of ten extant Hexameters of Calvus five have the threefold coincidence of accent and ictus (as in 'et mágna cóndidit úrbes'); nor is it an accident that out of the not very numerous extant lines of Varro Atacinus (who was twelve years older than Virgil) one is a good specimen of a *σπονδειάζων*:

hortantes 'O Phoebe' et 'Ieie' conclamarunt;¹

nor have critics hesitated about assigning to some 'cantor Euphorionis' the anonymous lines:

tuque Lycaonio prognata e semine nympha,
quam gelido raptam de uertice Nonacrenae
Oceano prohibet semper se tingere Tethys,
ausa suae quia sit quondam succumbere alumnae,

where not only the *σπονδειάζων* but also the slightly prosaic 'ausa suae quia sit quondam' and the elision in 'succumbere alumnae' are characteristic, while the whole passage may be said to be redolent of Alexandrian explanatory science, mythological and astronomical. The Augustan poet usually assumed such things to be known. Ennius, earlier, had been sometimes clumsily or heavily didactic ('sophiam, sapientia quae perhibetur'). The Augustans are more sensitive to poetic effect, it is only by inadvertence, by an occasional lapse or relapse, that they 'instruct' the reader (as when Horace talks about the 'Amazonia securis'). Nor do they begin by talking about their own literary efforts or purposes, their 'charta' or 'pagina,' as the author of the *Ciris* does (though Virgil has the word 'pagina,' once, in the *Elegies*, 'quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen'). The author of the *Panegyricus in Messalam* does it, and it inclines us to place him fairly early (though not necessarily before, say, 36 or 37 B.C.). So does the author of the *Culex*. Catullus does not do it in his *Epyllion*, but the first word of the second line betrays its Alexandrianism—'dicuntur' (*κλείονται, φατίζονται*)—the attitude of a learned poet, who collects picturesque myths and looks at them from the outside as myths, instead of assuming the truth of the story.

One other remark: I know of no evidence or instance to show that it was a practice in ancient times to imitate very minutely the style of a past generation, to work in the vein of Chatterton, or to do what a modern verse-

¹ A Latin word forming a dispondeus, not a Greek proper name, as is usually the case in Augustan poetry (*nobile Pallanteum*).

writer
It is t
Ovid i
and e
exemp
ness, w
form o
ventur
It is p
some c
enjoye
shut h
time.¹

Fr
my lin
to the
Singula

In
is looki
very in
done th
Th

Here th
line²):
belongi

A p
and I c

A
spicuo

I count

¹ It is p
which I s
to assume
revolution
tion, and
as to intr

writer does when he composes a piece in the manner of Lucretius or Catullus. It is true that epic verse after Virgil is very like Virgil, and elegiac verse after Ovid is very like Ovid. But that is a different thing. In Virgil and Ovid epic and elegiac verse attained maturity, what they wrote became a norm or exemplar. What was not done, or not done with any exactness or completeness, was to reproduce the manner or various mannerisms of a time when a form of poetry was immature. On this general ground alone I should almost venture to say that it is inconceivable that the *Ciris* was written after 20 B.C. It is perhaps conceivable that it was written in 30 B.C., if we suppose that some contemporary of Catullus, who had begun to write when Catullus did, but enjoyed a longer life, persisted in adherence to his first manner, and resolutely shut his eyes to the movements that had taken place in poetry since that time.¹

From these general observations—introduced rather to justify explicitly my line of argument than to impart what will be new to the reader—I proceed to the examination of my new witness, the Present Participle in the Nominative Singular.

I.

In an inquiry of this kind, it is necessary to define very exactly what one is looking for. One begins by counting loosely things which it is perhaps not very important to count. It is only when a good deal of counting has been done that the issue becomes clearer.

The inquiry started from the contemplation of lines like:

non storace Idaeo fragrantis picta capillos,
coccina non teneris pedibus Sicyonia seruans,
non niveo retinens bacata monilia collo
(*Ciris* 168-170).

Here there are three things: a perfect participle (the clause occupying a whole line²) : a present participle as the last word of a line : a present participle belonging to a participial clause which occupies the whole line.

A present participle as the last word of a line is a very conspicuous thing, and I counted in the first place instances of that, denoting it by P.

A participial clause which occupies a whole Hexameter is also a conspicuous thing, and I also counted that, calling it *p*:

amissum credens immiti Thesea fato.

I counted also such clauses when they occupied five or five and a half feet (*p*):

(atque ita) naue leui nitens et lenibus auris,

¹ It is pointed out by Drachmann, in an article which I shall discuss later, that we should have to assume a writer who was unaffected by the revolution which Virgil had made in versification, and yet knew and admired Virgil so much as to introduce into his own poem whole lines

and phrases from Virgil's writings. It is not a supposition that can be taken seriously.

² Or nearly so, if we exclude the *non* as belonging to the general construction of the whole passage.

or four to four and a half feet (ρ^2):

(quine fugit) lentos incuruans gurgite remos.

Clauses shorter than that it was fairly safe to neglect. They did not disappear or go out of fashion. The things I have enumerated one did feel to be rare in Augustan verse. What I counted here, under the heads ρ , ρ^1 and ρ^2 , were participial clauses in general, including plurals, which in the nominative are sometimes really significant :

fluctibus in salsis uictum uitamque petentes,

and including participles in oblique cases, which are less important, for it began to be obvious that the Augustan poets did not shrink from them to the same extent or in any very notable degree. However, I do not now think them wholly unimportant, and I produce the statistics of ρ , ρ^1 and ρ^2 . Little would be gained by recounting and subdividing minutely.

But when one had got as far as this, a new idea presented itself. It began to appear that what was most disliked—what the Augustan poets tended to avoid, whether consciously or half-consciously or unconsciously—was a participial clause which *followed* the main verb of the sentence. It is not difficult to see why this should be so. A subsequent participial clause has a certain weakness about it, it is a sort of appendage or *έφολκις*. One saw that Virgil's rare present participles tended to precede the main verb:

lapidemque reuertens
incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat
(*Georg.* I. 274)

('reuertens' is perhaps an echo of Lucretius). Thus it became desirable to count separately two things which resemble P and ρ , and are included under them, namely, a participle at the end of a line, preceded by the principal verb (Π), and a participial clause which occupied a whole line and was preceded by the principal verb (π). At this stage I counted only participles in the nominative singular. It had become evident by this time that it was mainly the nominative that excited some sort of repulsion. The line:

stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem

is obviously very different in effect from

ipse suum cor edens, hominum uestigia uitans.

What I exhibit therefore in the table on p. 6 is five things which I have now explained: P ; ρ ; the sum of ρ , ρ^1 and ρ^2 ; Π , and π .

It will be seen that the chief texts here reviewed (down to *Aen.* VIII.) have been arranged according to the results given in the first column—the frequency of P . But where that result puts a text late, the result in another column will often be found to put it early, e.g. the figure in the third column puts the *Ciris* below Cicero and Catullus only. And one large result stands

Cic.
Lyd
Cule
Catu
Luc
Lyd
Luc
Ciri
Ger
Ovid
Aen
Geor
Eclo
Aen
Mor
Dira
Pan
Aetr
Cyn
Lau

out v
the t
differ
perha
More
parti

agree
fourt
there
below
one i
ness
much
book
than
in I.

¹ In
precede
² T
fact t
comp
to de
Cicer
they b

	P.	p.	$p+p^1+p^2$.	II.	π.
<i>Cic. Aratea, etc.</i> (639)	I in 24½	I in 18·2	I in 10½	I in 42·6	I in 40
<i>Lydia</i> (80) ...	I in 40	o	(I in 80?)	I in 80	
<i>Culex</i> (414) ...	I in 52	I in 59	I in 20·7	I in 207	I in 138
<i>Catullus</i> , 64 (408) ...	I in 68	I in 14½	I in 8·3	I in 136	I in 34
<i>Lucr. V.</i> (1457) ...	I in 76·6	I in 104	I in 56	I in 104	I in 291·4
<i>Lydia and Dirae</i> (183)	I in 91	I in 183		I in 183	
<i>Lucr. VI.</i> (1286) ...	I in 128	I in 143	I in 67·7	I in 214	I in 321·5
<i>Ciris</i> (541) ...	I in 135	I in 32	I in 15½	I in 270	I in 108
<i>Germ. Aratea</i> (725) ...	I in 181	I in 181	I in 72·5	I in 725	
<i>Ovid, Met. VI.</i> (721)	I in 240	I in 103	I in 65·5 ¹	o	
<i>Aeneid I.</i> (756) ...	I in 252		I in 54	I in 756	I in 126
<i>Georg. I.-IV.</i> (2186) ...	I in 263	I in 169	I in 65·5	I in 729	I in 364·3
<i>Eclogues</i> (829) ...	I in 414	I in 207	I in 82·9 ²	I in 829 ³	o
<i>Aen. VIII.</i> (731) ...	I in 731	I in 91	I in 61	I in 731	
<i>Moretum</i> (124) ...	o	I in 124		o	
<i>Dirae</i> (103) ...	o	I in 103	I in 34	o	I in 103
<i>Paneg. Mess.</i> (231) ...	o	I in 77		o	
<i>Aetna</i> (646) ...	o	o	I in 646	o	
<i>Cyneg.</i> (540) ...	o			o	
<i>Laus Pisonis</i> (261) ...	o			o	

out very plainly. Let us contemplate two large groups, drawing a line across the table just below the *Ciris*. It is obvious at a glance that there is a great difference between the poems above that line and those below it. (It should perhaps be pointed out as a reservation that poems so short as the *Dirae* or *Moretum* hardly admit of comparison with the *Ciris* or *Lucr. VI.*, in which participles occur at intervals greater than their total length).

The arrangement arrived at in column 1, on the basis of P, is in substantial agreement with the two more important of the remaining columns, the third and fourth. With column 4 (II) the agreement is complete. In column 3 ($p+p^1+p^2$) there is only one figure above the line—for *Lucr. VI.*—that would be in place below it; and only two below it that would be in place above it. Of the latter, one is the figure for the *Dirae*; a doubtful matter, perhaps, owing to the shortness of the poem, but of the last six poems on the list it is the *Dirae* that has much the best claim to an earlier date. The other is the figure for *Aeneid I.*, a book which in various passages has perhaps a more archaic and Ennian air than others; in *Aeneid II.* the numbers for P and II are exactly the same as in I. (three instances of P, only one of them II), while examples of p , p^1 and p^2 seem to be very few.

It seems to me to be proved, on the whole, that participial endings and

¹ In all the eleven cases the participial clause precedes the main verb.

² This infrequency may be set down to the fact that the *Eclogues* are a dramatic form of composition. Participial clauses belong chiefly to description and narration (description in Cicero's *Aratea*: narration, in *Lucr. VI.*, where they become more frequent in the narrative of

the plague at Athens); they are less likely to occur in conversation. But description or narration, of course, does not compel their use: compare *Germanicus* with *Cicero*, the *Aeneid* with *Catullus* or the *Ciris*.

³ This solitary specimen (*Ecl. X.* 25) is an echo of *Lucretius* (IV. 587).

participial clauses fell into disfavour with the advent of the Augustan age. The participial ending *P* is still in disfavour in the time of Nero. In six books of the *Pharsalia* the proportion is 1 in 272, or about the same as in Ovid—for the figure given above for Ovid, 1 in 240, does not represent the *Metamorphoses* quite accurately, a wider survey pointing rather to 1 in 300. In the epic of Domitian's reign there is a revival of participial endings, due probably to the fact that Virgil had not excluded them. In *Valerius Flaccus*, books V., VI. and VII., the proportion is 1 in 124, in books I.-IV. of the *Thebais* of Statius it is 1 in 116. In Juvenal they are extremely rare: I find only four in the first eight satires (2,169 lines): I. 165 (Lucilius *ardens*—but 'ardens' is rather an adjective than a participle here), III. 49 (et cui *feruens*), 233 (et *haerens* | *ardenti* *stomacho*), VII. 152 (haec *eadem* *stans*). Here it may be suggested that rhetoric helped to drive them out; for an ending in a participle is an ending in something of subordinate importance and therefore ineffective. Latin prose also rather disliked a present participle in the nominative; but I do not know whether this has been investigated, and I have no facts or statistics to offer.

As regards the *Ciris* and *Culex*, the outcome of the participial criterion is to put them early. Of course it does not give us an exact date—it may be said to point to some such time as 50-45 B.C.—nor is it in itself a conclusive proof. The conclusion will become more and more cogent if other criteria yield a similar result.

II.

It is now clear, I hope, why some cogency can be claimed for the use of the participle as a criterion of date. It is a perceptible or recognizable feature of verse; and it is a feature or mannerism which gradually died out. Are there other tests like it? Antecedently, we might hope to find something similar happening in the case of the trochaic caesura, as in:

Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,

for this is a metrical effect for which Latin had little liking, just as it had little liking for the 'bucolic' division or diaeresis, as in:

omnia uel medium fiant mare. uiuite, siluae.

One of the most familiar facts (though it is not often set out very clearly or explicitly) is that the Greek hexameter differs very widely from the Latin in regard to these two cadences. It is largely owing to the frequency of the trochaic division that the hexameter of Homer is so different from Virgil's, so much lighter and more rapid in its movement:

ἀλλ' ἵθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σταώτερος ὡς κε νέγαι

or

ὑβριος εἶνεκα τῆσδε· σὺ δ' ἵσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν

(where the bucolic division is seen also). In the first hundred lines of the *Iliad*

there are forty-eight which have the trochaic division quite unmistakably.¹ It might be called the 'Homeric' caesura. In Virgil it is really very infrequent. Similarly, the bucolic division is infrequent, even in the *Eclogues*. In the *Eclogues* it is found in one line of every ten. In Theocritus it occurs in every second line, and sometimes in two lines out of three. Did the Roman poets gradually eject or discard these cadences? It would be quite in keeping with the history of metre generally at Rome if they did.

There are three divisions of a hexameter which are vital to the very nature of the verse, the penthemimeral, trochaic and hephthemerical caesurae. A hexameter must have one of them, if it is to be a legitimate hexameter at all.² It will save printing if we designate these places in the line by the letters *p*, *t* and *h*. Besides these, there are divisions which, without being vital, may be of much importance for the general effect or cadence of the line; in particular the trihemimeral division, and the bucolic diaeresis. I propose to take some account of the latter, calling it *b*. This distinction between vital divisions and divisions which are only important is very elementary, but it is not always set out explicitly by writers on metre, and I premise it here for the sake of clearness. The discussion of *t* leads at once to the discussion of *h*, for there are lines in which some critics find one and some the other. And this leads to the question of the proportion of *t* or *h* or both to *p*. In determining where the vital caesura falls, the caesura of the line, we must be guided, I contend, by the sense of the passage or the rhetoric or whatever we choose to call it; sometimes the punctuation makes it obvious; it is *not* metre or *μετρική* that can tell us where it is, in particular lines; *μετρική* can only classify or define the three vital effects and the other subordinate ones. Thus in the lines

hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
terram inter fluctus aperit, furius aestus harenis,

I regard the hephthemerical division as the dominant or real or characteristic one. It is true that there is the end of a word at *p*; but that is a fact of very little importance for the reader.³

It may seem unnecessary to set out things as elementary as these. But it is not. It is in fact necessitated, in my view, by recent treatment of the subject, treatment so extraordinary that it is difficult to use moderate language about it. One of the delinquents is no less eminent an authority than Norden,⁴

¹ There are also half a dozen more like

νοῦσαν ἀνὰ στρατόν ὥρσε κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί
or

Ἄτρειδα δὲ μάλιστα δύν, κοσμήτορε λαῶν,

which I count as hephthemerical and not as
'trochaic.'

² Hexameters which fall into two equal parts,
like Ennius'

spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatetur,

are so very rare as to be altogether negligible for
this inquiry.

³ Of course it is not a fact of absolutely no
importance at all. It means that the line is *not*
exactly like 'obstupuit simul Aeneas . . .'

⁴ From an article by A. B. Drachmann in
Herms (vol. 43, p. 412) I learn that Meyer was
the originator of the method. Drachmann him-
self adopts Meyer's rules, 'though I am not quite
convinced that they are right.'

who in a metrical appendix to his edition of *Aen.* VI. gives us a list of lines that have 'weibliche Hauptcaesur' or 'trochaic' division. They include

(finibus omnes)

haud mora prosiluere || suis | ferit aethera clamor
and

litora deseruere ; latet sub classibus aequor.

Both of these! Both have 'weibliche Hauptcaesur'! To my ear the second is 'Homeric' in effect, the first is not. The first is frequent in Virgil, the second strikes a reader (if I am at all a normal reader) as, for Virgil, quite unusual in its rhythm. Inspired perhaps (or, as I think, misled) by this example of Norden, an English scholar, Mr. W. G. D. Butcher, has made an elaborate study of the 'Caesura in Virgil' (*Classical Quarterly*, April, 1914), in which 'trochaic' and other types of line are counted. Somewhere in Mr. Butcher's mind there were misgivings about the rightness of the method, and he set himself to justify it—it is a method which will obviously result in finding a great many more 'trochaic' lines than I am prepared to recognize. 'Ancient writers differ,' he says, 'as to whether the trochaic or the hephthemimeral caesura should take precedence, and in modern criticism great names, such as Meyer and Müller, may be found on opposite sides. Either caesura can stand alone, and though the hephthemimeral is found alone more frequently than the trochaic, its superiority in this respect is insufficient to determine the question of precedence.' (It may be 'insufficient,' but that is not a positive reason for doing the opposite—for giving the precedence to the trochaic.)

'Perhaps the best argument in favour of the trochaic caesura,' he proceeds, 'is that it is natural to accept the first available caesura in the verse. For instance, in a line beginning :

infandum, regina

we have no certainty that another caesura will follow'—no doubt you have not, at the moment, but in a fraction of a second the matter will be settled one way or the other!—so that we should naturally adopt the first caesura as the principal one, and consider any other that may follow as subsidiary.' 'In the following analysis therefore we shall accept the penthemimeral as the normal type; failing that the trochaic; and only when both are absent shall we allow the hephthemimeral to be the main caesura. This is the most convenient arrangement, though in a large measure arbitrary.'

Mr. Butcher has not succeeded in stifling his own doubts. 'Arbitrary' it certainly is. The reason given is no reason at all. It means that the critic or reader is to be so furiously impatient that in the case of

et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando

he will not wait till he hears or sees the word 'fui,' but must at once set down the line as trochaic. Let us see what comes of this method.

If lines like this or like

non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum

(which is Mr. Butcher's example) are to count as 'trochaic,' trochaic lines will be very numerous. Mr. Butcher's table gives them as 1,156 in the *Aeneid*, the total number of lines in the poem being 9,878; that is roughly one line in every nine. If the reader met with lines of 'Homeric' cadence as often as that, he would not feel the vast difference which I think he does feel between Homer and Virgil. That, however, is a rather vague objection. When we come to *h*, hephthemimeral lines, the result given is much more startling. There are only 371 of them! Naturally; for Mr. Butcher counts a line as *h* only when there is no point before *h* at which it *can* be divided. That is 3·7 per cent. of the total number of lines, or about one line in twenty-seven. And of course all the rest are *p*—all are *p* except *t* and *h* and two lines which appear to have no obvious or ordinary caesura. *p* comes to 8,349 lines; and here I definitely refuse to follow or agree. It is 84·5 per cent. of the total. But Virgil has always been credited with great and subtle variety of cadence. It is one of his chief merits, and any reader can feel it. But if 84·5 per cent. of his lines are really of one metrical type, the variety is gone. He is convicted of conspicuous monotony. The hexameters of Catullus *are* monotonous in their cadence; those of Virgil are not, and in passing to him the unprejudiced reader must perceive a great difference, a great advance. The statistical result then is one which effaces a real and vital difference.

I quite admit that Mr. Butcher's method has the advantage of definiteness. It is possible to say with complete accuracy how many lines have the end of a word at *p*. I do not doubt that there are 8,349 of them in the *Aeneid*. But it is not a useful fact, it is merely a curiosity of enumeration. It has no real significance.

What I propose to substitute for this method is one which is much more difficult to apply. The things to be counted are not all simple and certain. There are lines about which readers or critics will differ. Where is the more marked division, at *p* or *h*? There are some lines in which it seems impossible to say e.g.

heu quantae miseris | caedes | Laurentibus instant

or

purpurei cristis | iuuenes | auroque corusci.

I see no solution; I designate such lines as *ph*, meaning that they are lines which have either division or both. Similarly there may be hesitation between *t* and *th*.

euomit inuoluitque domum caligine caeca (*Aen.* VIII. 253)

—that, I think, is *th*, but I am prepared to call it *t*. Or again:

addiderat, subitoque nouum consurgere bellum

Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque seueris (*ib.* 637-8)

—here the first line I am inclined to designate *th*, but, to be safe and to take no advantage in the discussion, I will agree to call it *t*; the second line I am not prepared to call either *th* or *t*; it seems to me to be simply *h*. These lines, as

it happens, have a *que* at the critical point. I do not believe that the *que* was sufficiently detached from the word before it to give a penthemimeral caesura, but I know that it has been maintained. (It would not, if it were admitted, impair my contention, that the cadence *t* is rare. On the contrary, it would sweep away at one blow a large number of *th*'s.) Here are examples without *que*:

iamque tibi, ne uana | putes | haec fingere somnum (*Aen.* VIII. 42)
inflauit cum pinguis | ebur | Tyrrhenus ad aras (*Georg.* II. 193).

Both of these, I find, I have marked *th*, and I see no way of getting further; I simply leave them in that category. In the line

conuellunt; immota manet multosque nepotes (*Georg.* II. 294)

I myself feel the effect to be mainly *h*, but in order to proceed with caution I have set the line down as *th*.

What then are the results of the alternative method—which consists, briefly, in reclaiming for the hepthemimeral caesura its right to be felt or heard? In the first one hundred lines of *Aen.* VI. I find twenty lines which seem to me quite clearly *h*. In case the reader wishes to test the procedure and to see whether he agrees with it—that is, of course, if any reader has had the patience to follow the argument as far as this point—I give the numbers of the lines which I so reckon: they are 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 18, 20, 24, 40, 44, 52, 59, 72, 73, 77, 88, 98, 99, 100. Twenty per cent. would mean some 2,000 *h*'s in the *Aeneid*. But a wider survey points to a somewhat higher percentage in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*:

<i>Eclogues</i> IV.-IX., l. 15 (500 lines)	...	12·6 per cent.
<i>Georg.</i> II. 1-500	...	25·4
<i>Aen.</i> VIII.-IX., l. 269 (1,000 lines)	...	25·8

If this estimate may be trusted, it points to a total for *h* of some 2,500 lines in the *Aeneid*. Now if we add to this *t* and *th*, 1·8 and 2·6, that is 4·4, and add also *ph*, which I make 5·8, we arrive at 36·0 per cent. as the total number of lines which are *not p*, or in the whole of the *Aeneid* some 3,500 lines.¹ *p* comes to 64 per cent. This is an entirely credible result. It leaves unshaken our belief that Virgil in his treatment of the hexameter made a great advance in variety of cadence. Mr. Butcher's results efface this fact completely. Here are his percentages for *p*: *Ecl.* 85·8, *Georg.* 86·4, *Aen.* 84·5: Pseudo-

¹ This result I believe to be substantially sound, and as accurate as can be looked for. Substantially sound, because there is no reason to think that Virgil's manner in the 1,000 lines selected was different from his manner in other parts of the *Aeneid*. He had already written the *Georgics*, and his style was mature. As accurate as can be expected, because the attempt to count all the lines in the *Aeneid* would not result in absolute precision and certainty. Some lines

marked *ph* might seem to be *p* on a second scrutiny or if considered by another critic, and some marked *p* turn out to be *ph*; some marked *th* might be finally relegated to *h*. Callimachus' maxim must be kept in mind:

μὴ μετρεῖν σχολῆς Περαῖδι τὴν σοφίην

—if the words meant that it is unsafe to apply a footrule to poetry.

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Virgiliana: *Lydia* 93, *Dirae* 92, *Moretum* 84, *Aetna* 82, *Ciris* 88, *Culex* 84.¹ The method means counting things which are either too numerous or too few to yield any inference. Too few, sometimes: for example, he deals with the number of *p*'s that are accompanied by elision, saying in support of the Virgilian authorship of the *Culex* 'elided penthemimeral caesurae are rare as in the *Elegues*.' His numbers no doubt bear this out. But what are they? Elided *p*'s are: *Lydia* 1, *Dirae* 1, *Moretum* 0, *Aetna* (644 lines) 9, *Ciris* (541 lines) 9, *Culex* (412 lines) 2: *Elegues* 4, in 830 lines. Are there differences here that mean anything? Perhaps there are: I think the higher numbers in the case of the *Aetna* and *Ciris* are due to the fact that one of these is a didactic poem and the other a heroic epyllion, while the other pieces are pastorals. For the *Lydia*, *Dirae* and *Moretum* together the number is 2 in 305 lines. Elided *p* was an effect which the writer of a pastoral did not cultivate, but did not shrink from either, if once or twice it came in his way.

Before producing statistics arrived at on my rival method—from which I do not promise anything important or conclusive regarding the *dates* of undated poems—I briefly examine the treatment which has been accorded to the 'bucolic' diaeresis, which seems to me to have been wrong in precisely the same way as Mr. Butcher's treatment of *p*, *t* and *h*.

In regard to the bucolic division, the original delinquent appears to have been Hartel, who is followed by Gleditsch (*Metrik*, p. 119), and Mr. Mooney in his recent edition of the *Argonautica* has over-estimated the bucolic lines in a similar way. Gleditsch accepts from Hartel the statement that in Homer 60 per cent. of the lines have bucolic division. Now this amount cannot be arrived at without counting things like $\delta\lambda\omega\rho\pi\alpha$ | $\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}\chi\epsilon$ $\kappa\bar{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\bar{\nu}$, in which I refuse to see a bucolic effect. In the first 100 lines of the *Iliad* (Oxford text) I find 6 bucolic divisions or *b*'s marked by punctuation, and 25 that can be counted as fairly clear—31 in all, or about half of Hartel's percentage. In the first book of Apollonius Mr. Mooney puts *b* at about 62 per cent. (observe again how these methods efface differences! Homer and Apollonius come out alike). In the first 200 lines of his text I find 41 marked by punctuation (i.e. there is at least a comma at the end of the fourth foot). Fifty-seven more lines I am prepared to regard as 'bucolic,' though sometimes rather doubtfully. So I get a total of at most 98, or 49 per cent. Thus Homer and Apollonius appear to differ quite perceptibly. Callimachus is exactly like Apollonius, and it is only in some of the poems of Theocritus that percentages well over 60 come to light.

The Hartelian method is obviously the same in principle as Mr. Butcher's. It means counting as 'bucolic' lines in which there is the end of a word at the end of the fourth foot, including lines like

¹ In Catullus LXIV., on my method of reckoning, *p* amounts to 82·7 per cent. In the *Ciris* and *Laus Pisonis* it is about 80 per cent. In other Latin poems the percentage does not depart

widely from the Virgilian one, i.e. it is about 64. Catullus had a very strong preference for the rhythm 'prognátae vértice pínus,' which excludes *h*.

or

χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύξυγον ἥλασαν Ἀργώ.

οἰωνούς τ' ἀλέγειν ἡδ' ἔμπυρα σήματ' ἵδεσθαι.¹

On this principle, 'atque altae moenia Romae' would be a bucolic ending, and Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis* would prove to be one of the most 'bucolic' poems in the Latin language, for there are in it multitudes of lines with a word-ending at the end of the fourth foot. 'Peliaco quondam prognatae | uertice pinus,' a bucolic line! Catullus' poem might even prove to be more 'bucolic' than the *Bucolica* of Virgil.

I count *b* on the same principle as *p*, *t* and *h*, looking for a pause or division such as a normal reader, attending carefully to the sense and construction, would be aware of. Here, again, it must be admitted that the same degree of exactness is not attainable. Readers would differ about a particular line, whether it is to count as *b* or not. But they would not differ often enough to make the general result doubtful, and that this was the method of the Romans themselves, or at all events of some Roman critics, seems almost capable of proof.

The Hartelian method would find a very large number of *b*'s in the *Elegues*, and if this meant anything that is real for the reader little or no difference would be felt between Virgil and Theocritus. But the ancients did feel a difference; they thought that Virgil had *not* followed Theocritus in his frequent use of bucolic division. Terentianus Maurus says that Theocritus has the effect in abundance :

plurimus hoc pollet Siculae telluris alumnus,
but that Virgil makes a sparing use of it :

noster eo rarus pastor Maro, sed tamen inquit
'dic mihi, Damoetas, cuium pecus? an Meliboei?'

So too Atilius (c. 21): 'Theocritus hanc metri legem custodiuuit, Vergilius contempsit.' What Virgil precisely did will be shown by my statistics. The statement of Atilius is quoted by Christ, but Christ has not profited by it, for he falls into one of the subsidiary errors which result from Hartel's principle. After mentioning that in Greek a dactyl usually precedes the bucolic division, he adds 'a similar preference is not provable in Roman poets.' Of course it is not, if lines like

molli paullatim flauescet campus arista

are to count as bucolic, for many Roman poets had a liking for this type of line. But the really bucolic lines in Virgil almost always have a dactyl in the fourth foot.²

¹ The adjective *ἔμπυρα* naturally goes closely with *σήματα*. Between it and *σήματα* there is a slightly less severance than between *σήματα* and *ἵδεσθαι*. It may be thought that elision has a connecting effect, and makes *σήματ'* *ἵδεσθαι* into a group; but that effect is doubtful, and I think, if it exists, balanced by the close connection between *ἔμπυρα* and *σήματα*.

² *Ecl.* III. 15 is one of the rare exceptions. The line quoted above is in the Fourth *Elogue*. In that *Elogue* there is not a single example of *b*, as I reckon *b*'s. In this I see a further confirmation of my position. For *Ecl.* IV. ought to be very different from the others: it is not a pastoral or dramatic idyll at all.

In surveying a large number of lines with the view of distinguishing *h* from *p*, one found many lines in which the symmetrical position of an adjective and its noun seemed to determine the structure. Thus in the line

irrita uentosae | linquens promissa procellae

p seemed to be indicated; or, again, in

candida permulcens | liquidis uestigia lymphis

the division 'candida permulcens liquidis | uestigia lymphis' seemed unnatural, and this line also counted as *p*. There are many types of such symmetrical arrangement, and they are frequent in all Latin verse. Examples are as easily found in Catullus as in Claudio. It did not seem worth while to examine them all. I noted those in which the adjective came just before *p* and the substantive at the end of the line, using for this the symbol A. A poet who has this arrangement frequently is sure to have several of the others frequently also. Besides A, I noted only the variant of it in which adjective and substantive change places, calling this A¹. There is only one example of it in the *Peleus and Thetis*:

Nec Thetidis taedas uoluit celebrare *iugalis*,

and some poets seem to avoid it altogether.

The adjoining table gives the percentages which I arrive at for the various things which I have now described. Except for A and A¹, which are very definite things, the figures are only approximate, but I believe that they

	<i>h.</i> %	<i>h+p.h.</i>	<i>t.</i>	<i>t+th.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>A.</i>	<i>A¹.</i>
Ennius (359 lines surveyed)	22.2	25.6	7.8	9.7			
Cicero, <i>Aratea</i> (480 l.)	13.9	23.1	3.12	3.33	2.5	6.25	0.83
Catullus LXIV. (408)	5.63	10.5	6.86	6.86	0.73	17.89	0.24
Lucr. V. 1-500	24.4	29.8	5.8	6.6	1.4	2.2	0.2
Virgil, <i>Ecl.</i> IV.-IX. 15 (500)	12.6	20.4	6.6	8.4	10.0	13.2	0.8
" <i>Georg.</i> II. 1-500	25.4	31.8	3.8	6.2	3.4	11.0	1.8
" <i>Aen.</i> VIII.-IX. 269 (1,000 l.)	25.8	31.6	1.8	4.4	2.2	7.7	1.7
Calpurnius, <i>Ecl.</i> I-VI. 18 (500 l.)	10.6	15.6	3.8	5.8	7.6	29.2	0.8
Statius, <i>Theb.</i> VI. 1-250, and <i>Ach.</i> I. 1-250	20.8	22.8	4.4	9.2	1.0	17.8	0.1
<i>Ciris</i> (541)	7.58	13.68	4.80	7.02	1.85	23.66	1.66
<i>Culex</i> (414)	22.0	26.6	3.86	6.52	6.52	13.77	0.72
<i>Lydia</i> (80)	13.7	28.7	1.25	2.5	2.5	16.25	0
<i>Dirae</i> (103)	20.4	25.2	3.88	5.82	7.76	17.47	0
<i>Paneg. Messalae</i> (211)	10.4	15.6	5.2	7.11	2.37	39.8	0
<i>Moretum</i> (122)	14.8	20.5	4.92	8.19	0.82	22.9	2.46
Germ. <i>Aratea</i> , 1-500	25.2	30.6	3.2	4.4	4.4	7.4	0.2
<i>Laus Pisonis</i> (261)	12.26	15.32	4.21	4.25	3.83	23.0	1.15
<i>Aetna</i> , 1-500	29.4	30.2	6.2	8.4	1.8	10.2	0

answer to real differences. Like many metrical statistics they often tell us only what was more or less known before and what could be observed by a careful reader. But that is better than telling us what no reader could by any possibility observe at all. They tell us more about different *genera poematum* than about the date of any undated poem.

Didactic and epic poems admit *h* very freely, and they disdain the rather mechanical *A*. The variety of cadence achieved by Virgil is shown by the figures for *h*. But of course the mere figures do not differentiate him from Lucretius. In Virgil, the variety was more a matter of art, more subtle and deliberate. The place of the caesura moves, as it were, in a group of lines, so that some kind of connected cadence or structure can be felt to run through them; lines that stand by themselves and form a complete grammatical sentence are rare, one line leads to the next, and the lines of a paragraph are welded into a harmonious whole. Sentences are short, and adapted to metrical moulds, the moulds being not whole lines but parts of a line. Such effects are not absent in Lucretius, but in Lucretius it is often the necessity of the argument that brings variety. The poet who has had a late division at *h* in one line has not enough space for what he has to say before *p* in the next line. To point out this difference in technique is not to deny that Lucretius is a great poet.

The *Panegyrics* are monotonous: *h* is infrequent and *A* is very frequent. The reader wonders whether Messala's eulogist was paid by the line; he has a digression on Ulysses which would have justified Messala in following the example of the Thessalian chief who refused payment to Simonides.

Neither *t* nor *b*—in the Homeric and Theocritean sense, a pause so perceptible as often to be marked by a comma or other stop—ever had any real vogue at Rome, except that *b* does find a place in pastorals: Virgil 10 per cent., the *Dirae* 7·76, Calpurnius 7·6, the *Culex* 6·52—after these there is a gap, and the next number is 4·4. It is true, as the Romans observed, that Virgil did not follow Theocritus in his use of the bucolic division. But he was too subtle an artist in verse to neglect it. What he did was to make it just frequent enough to be noticed, to remind the reader of the cadence of his predecessor. The number for the *Culex* associates that poem with the *Eclogues* and the *Dirae*, but it also associates it with Calpurnius, and though it is not a pastoral like the others it is distinctly pastoral in its general character. Whether the writer of it had a pastoral effect in view, however, may be doubted. He has a general tendency to end a sentence late in the line, and he has six *b*'s in twelve lines in a passage which is not pastoral at all, but is a narrative (very much out of place in its context) of the homeward voyage of the Greeks from Troy (341-352).

The figures for the *Ciris* seem to show that its versification resembles that of Catullus more closely than it does that of Virgil. The infrequency of *h* (7·58) perhaps points to an early date. It is akin to Catullus also in its fairly frequent *σπονδειάζοντες*. The *Culex*, on the other hand, seems to stand nearer

to Virgil than to Catullus. The resemblance does not prove it to be Virgil's, but, as far as versification is concerned, it may be admitted that there is nothing that is *against* Virgilian authorship.

Several metrical criteria were discussed by Skutsch in *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, a book which inspired, or gave interest to, this whole inquiry. But he deals with them rather briefly (p. 68). His survey is often too limited. To survey a hundred lines only is precarious; five hundred is not too much to eliminate chance. The statistics which he gives for caesuras I now see to be on the lines of the Meyer-Norden-Butcher method. He finds 'männliche Caesur im dritten Fuss'—it is quite clear that he means 'Hauptcaesur'—in eighty-nine out of a hundred lines of Virgil. He proceeds to statistics for elision, a thing more easily counted; I have made no further scrutiny of this, and I have nothing to add to what I said about it in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. 31, p. 277). Finally he deals with the occurrence of the $\sigma\pi\alpha\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\zeta\omega\eta$, a test which more clearly than others points to some such date as 50 B.C. for the composition of the *Ciris*. On this also I commented in the same article of the *Journ. of Phil.*, reinforcing it and adding one or two minor facts. Some years later (in 1908) Drachmann of Copenhagen contributed to *Hermes* (vol. 43, p. 405 sq.) an interesting article on the *Cirisfrage*, in which he discusses metrical criteria among others. He has valuable observations on diction and grammar; and here he mentions participles in the *Ciris*, but dismisses the present participle in a sentence, 'Das Part. Praes. ist häufig, wie bei Catull und Lucrez,' without tracking it down in the morphology of verse, as I have attempted to do in the preceding pages. His most important contribution to the metrical inquiry is an investigation into the frequency with which the end of a line is also the end of a period or sentence or clause. His results under all three heads are instructive, most clearly perhaps those which fall under the second—'Satzschluss und Verschluss fallen zusammen.' His table gives the following figures (I rearrange the order of them): Cic. *Aratea* 50·3 per cent., Catullus LXIV. 50·8 per cent., Lucretius about 50 per cent. (two different sections of Lucretius' text yield different results, 56·7 and 46·4 per cent.), *Ciris* 51·3, *Culex* 41·3, *Georgics* 34·8, *Aeneid* 27·7 per cent.¹ The *Ciris* is associated with the poetry of the Ciceronian age, and the *Culex* comes between that poetry and Virgil. Here then is another line of inquiry that points to some such dates as 50 and 45 B.C., for the *Ciris* and *Culex* respectively. It should be added, however, that Drachmann's table does not show a continuous and uniform change throughout. There are indications of a rise after Virgil-

¹ What Drachmann surveys is a tract of two or three hundred lines in each case, not necessarily consecutive, for he limits himself to narrative or description, avoiding speeches. This seems a sound precaution. It is specially in regard to the relation of sentences to verses that dramatic parts would differ from narrative. Of

course some poets show greater skill than others in differentiating them. It is not, I think, a very important consideration for the texts I have dealt with above. I have been content to take rather larger tracts of text (usually not less than 500 lines).

Ovid 38·9 per cent. The highest figure is for the *Paneg. ad Messalam* 68·4 per cent., and the figure for the *Moretum* is 47·2 per cent. Messala's eulogist, we may perhaps suppose, is a writer who has discarded the mannerisms of the Ciceronian age *without* learning the Virgilian lesson of variety in cadence. We have seen that he has a strong tendency to what I designate A (which often does mean the end of a sentence at the end of the line).¹

I have summarized Drachmann's investigation because it seems to me a good example of the kind of inquiry that is really profitable. What he surveys is a thing that is a real feature or characteristic of versification, a thing of which neither poet nor reader can be unaware. The result is not a mere statistical curiosity, like the number of lines in which there is the end of a word at *p.*

The general conclusion which I come to is that there is enough evidence of this really significant kind to make very probable or almost certain what I have more than once stated above—some such date as 50 and 45 B.C. for the *Ciris* and *Culex* respectively. But to prove that is not to prove that they are Virgil's. The metrical inquiry leaves *that* still quite uncertain, and many other considerations come into view. I propose to discuss it once more, with special reference to the *Culex*, in view of the fact that a belief in the Virgilian authorship of the *Culex* has recently found favour in this country.

NOTE.

One other test which I have tried may be mentioned. The results are very slight, though not perhaps exactly *nil*.

How often does the writer end his line with a pure trochee, a word like *antrō* or *armā* (a short vowel, not an ending like *tendis* or *armat*)? The poems that have this ending most frequently are the *Dirae* and *Lydia*: in them it occurs² in one line out of every five (=20 per cent. of the lines). Here is the order: *Dirae*, 1 in 5; *Lydia*, 1 in 5; *Paneg. Mess.*, 1 in 7·8; *Culex*, 1 in 8·8; *Catullus LXIV.*, 1 in 10·6; *Georgics* IV., 1 in 10·9; *Aetna*, 1 in 11·5; Ovid, *Met. VII.*, 1 in 12; Cicero, 1 in 13; *Ciris*, 1 in 13·2; *Ecl.*, 1 in 14·3; *Aen. I.* 1-500, 1 in 17·2. The *Dirae*, *Lydia*, *Paneg. Messalae* and *Culex* seem almost to form a group by themselves. But the significance of this is somewhat impaired by a fact about *Georg. IV*. In the epyllion, the story of Aristaeus, Orpheus and Eurydice, the proportion is 1 in 80.

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¹ Drachmann deals briefly with a similar thing, lines in which two adjectives and two substantives are symmetrically placed, such as 'Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes' (ab A B) and 'indomito nec dira ferens stipendia taurō' (ab B A). His results are: *Ciris*, 15·5 per cent.; *Catullus LXIV.*, 14·5; *Ecl.*, 4·7; *Georg. I.* and IV., 6·1 (*Hermes* 43, p. 418). My results for

A so far agree with this that they put the *Ciris* and *Catullus* in one group and the *Ecl.* and *Georgics* in another. They also, it may be noted, associate the *Culex* with the *Ecl.*, and would put it slightly before them in time—if we limit our view to this sequence of five, Cat., *Ciris*, *Culex*, *Ecl.*, *Georgics*.

² As it does in Homer.

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p. 125.

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HIRSCHFELD AND JUDEICH ON THE *LEX POMPEIA LICINIA*.

BEFORE the year 1857, when Mommsen published his celebrated treatise *Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat*, most scholars believed that Caesar's provincial command legally expired at the end of 49 B.C.; but Mommsen demonstrated the falsity of this opinion, and for nearly half a century it was an article of faith that the date fixed was the 1st of March. I may remark parenthetically that, although this date is usually quoted, it would be more correct to say the 28th of February. In 1904, however, Otto Hirschfeld gave reasons for believing that Caesar's command was not expressly secured beyond March 1, 50¹; and although Ludwig Holzapfel vigorously defended the orthodox view,² Hirschfeld remained for several years in possession of the field. In 1913 Walther Judeich,³ while admitting that Hirschfeld had worsted Mommsen, argued, 'convincingly' as Mr. F. E. Adcock thinks,⁴ that the date was December 29, 50. The writers of the article on Latin Literature in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (1915), noticing the reissue of the third volume of *The Correspondence of Cicero*, remark that 'the authors [Tyrrell and Purser] still hold the pious faith that Caesar's command in Gaul was to run out on the 1st of March in 49; it is a pity,' they add, 'in view of Hirschfeld and the rest, that they have not shown the English reader their grounds for that belief.' I propose in this article to give mine for sharing it.⁵

All scholars agree that a passage in Cicero's speech *De provinciis consularibus*⁶ proves that the five years for which Caesar was originally appointed terminated on February 28, 54 B.C. The extension of his command, provided for at the conference of Luca and confirmed by Pompey and Crassus in the following year, was to last, according to Cicero,⁷ Velleius,⁸ Plutarch,⁹ Appian,¹⁰ and Suetonius,¹¹ for another five years; but Dio¹² affirmed, as the result of his researches, that it had been limited to three. Dio, however, in another passage,¹³ attributes to Antony the statement that Caesar was forced to return

¹ *Klio*, 1904, pp. 76-87; 1905, pp. 236-40.

² *Ib.*, pp. 107-16.

³ *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 1-10.

⁴ *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1914, p. 125.

⁵ I took account of Hirschfeld's view, in so far as it bore upon a passage in *B.G.*, viii. 39, 3, in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*,² pp. 832-4, and of

Judeich's in my edition of the *Bellum Gallicum* (1914, pp. 388-9).
⁶ 15, 37.

⁷ *Att.* vii. 7, 6; 9, 4; *Phil.* ii. 10, 24.

⁸ ii. 46, 2.

⁹ *Pomp.* 51-2; *Cras.*, 15; *Caes.*, 21.

¹⁰ *B.C.*, ii. 17-18. ¹¹ *Diuis Iulius*, 24.

¹² xxxix. 33, 3; xliv. 43, 2. Cf. xl. 59, 3.

¹³ xliv. 43, 1.

to Italy before the lawful time, and so far confirms the tradition which assigned a legal duration of ten years to Caesar's proconsulship. If, then, the date fixed by Mommsen—March 1, or rather February 28, 49—is to be rejected, the reasons must be strong. Before we examine them it may be well to recall certain facts that are closely related to the question.

As Hirschfeld,¹ following Mommsen,² has observed, a letter which Caelius wrote to Cicero in 51 B.C. proves that the *lex Pompeia Licinia* contained a clause providing that the question of appointing a successor to Caesar should not be discussed before March 1, 50:—(illa praeterea Cn. Pompeii sunt animaduersa . . . ut) *diceret se ante Kalend. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de prouinciis Caesaris statuere*.³ Now under the *lex Sempronnia* of 123 the Senate was obliged to decide before the consular elections what provinces should be assigned to the consuls after their year of office had expired.⁴ It follows that, as Hirschfeld observes,⁵ Caesar's successor would be one of the consuls elected in July, 50, and could not arrive in Gaul until after the close of his year of consular office. Therefore, whether Caesar's command was to terminate legally on February 28, 49, or not, he might expect to retain his province and his army until the arrival of his successor in January, 48. The *lex Sempronnia*, however, was abrogated by Pompey in 52, and the *lex de prouinciis* which he then passed enacted that no consul should be appointed to a provincial governorship until five years or more after the end of his consulship.⁶ On March 1, 50, several consuls would be available for provincial commands; and (if Hirschfeld is right in maintaining that Caesar's command was not expressly secured beyond March 1, 50) the Senate would be entitled, without violating the *lex Pompeia Licinia*, not merely to discuss the appointment of Caesar's successor, but to send him to Gaul on that day.⁷ A *plébiscite*, passed in 52, had indeed authorized Caesar to stand for the consulship without presenting himself in Rome⁸; and as he could not be elected consul before July, 49, this *plébiscite* virtually permitted him to retain his command until that date, if not until January 1, 48, when his year of office would begin: but the authorization was infringed by a law which Pompey carried later in the same year, to the effect that candidates for any magistracy must tender their names in person,⁹ although, yielding to pressure, he declared informally that the law did not apply to Caesar.¹⁰

Hirschfeld tries to prove that no date was fixed for the termination of Caesar's command¹¹: before March 1, 50, he could not be recalled, but how long afterwards he should remain in Gaul was left uncertain. Only on this hypothesis, he says, can we explain the apparent inconsistency between the

¹ *Klio*, 1904, p. 83.

² *Die Rechtsfrage*, etc., pp. 51-2.

³ *Fam.*, viii., 8, 9.

⁴ P. Willems, *Le sénat*, etc., ii. 562-3.

⁵ *Klio*, 1904, p. 84.

⁶ P. Willems, *Le sénat*, etc., ii. 588-9.

⁷ See *Klio*, 1904, p. 85.

⁸ *Cic.*, *Att.*, viii. 3, 3.

⁹ *Dio.*, xl. 56, 1.

¹⁰ *Ib.*; *Suet.*, *Diuus Julius*, 28.

¹¹ *Klio*, 1904, p. 84.

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demand that Caesar should be recalled after March 1¹ and the claim which he urged to retain his province until his second consulship. But, as we shall presently see, the hypothesis is stultified by an unequivocal passage in Cicero;² and it has been demolished by Judeich.³

In order to confute Mommsen, Hirschfeld takes his stand upon a well-known passage in Cicero's correspondence. In May, 50, Caelius wrote: 'So far Pompey seems to have thrown his weight on the side of the Senate's wish that Caesar should leave his province on the 13th of November. Curio is resolved to go all lengths rather than allow this. . . . Pompey, professing not to be attacking Caesar, but to be making a settlement which he considers fair to him, says that Curio is seeking pretexts for a quarrel. However, he is strongly against and evidently afraid of Caesar's becoming consul-designate before handing over his army and province' (*adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius uidetur ut Caesar Id. Nouembr. decedat. Curio omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati . . . Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed quod illi aequum putet constitutus, ait Curionem quaerere discordias. ualde autem non uult et plane timet Caesarem consulem designari prius quam exercitum et prouinciam tradiderit*⁴). If, Hirschfeld argues,⁵ the *lex Pompeia Licinia* had provided that Caesar's term of office should not expire before February 28, 49, Pompey could not have claimed that the desire which was expressed in the Senate to recall him on November 13, 50, was reasonable. Now Caelius had no need to specify the year which he had in mind, because Cicero of course knew in what year Caesar's command was to expire; and the words 'making a settlement which he considers fair to him' might suggest that the year was 49. For Caesar could not become consul-designate before July, 49; and to insist on his vacating his province nearly eight months before that time could hardly be called a concession. If, on the other hand, Caelius was thinking of 49, Pompey might plausibly claim that he was making a reasonable compromise. As Tyrrell⁶ says, 'A great deal was granted to Caesar—permission to stand for the consulship in his absence, and only a bare six weeks of private life, and that as consul-designate, before he entered on the consulship. He would no doubt be accused during those six weeks; but he must, Pompeius might argue, and it is only reasonable that he should, face his

¹ Is it certain that anyone demanded that Caesar should be recalled after—that is, immediately after—March 1, 50? The only evidence is in *Fam.*, viii. 8, 4: (*plane perspecta Cn. Pompeii voluntate in eam partem) ut cum decedere post Kalendas Martias placet.* I suggest that these words mean, not 'that a decree should be passed for Caesar's quitting his province after the 1st of March,' but 'that a decree should be passed after the 1st of March for Caesar's quitting his province'; and I find that Watson (*Cicero: Select Letters*, 1881, p. 236) interprets them in this sense. Cf. § 5 of the same letter. It is true that M. Marcellus 'proposed to fix the end of Caesar's government on the 1st of March' (*Att.*, viii. 3, 3),

and, notwithstanding the opinion of L. Lange (*Röm. Alt.*, iii. 374), I am inclined to think that he means March 1, 50, not 49; but Pompey resisted this proposal. Moreover, the first senatorial resolution of September 29, 51—that the question of the consular provinces was to be brought before the House on March 1, 50—was not vetoed by the tribunes who favoured Caesar; and it certainly would have been if it had implied that he could be legally recalled on that day.

² *Att.*, vii. 7, 6.

³ *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Fam.*, viii. 11, 3.

⁵ *Klio*, 1904, p. 82. Cf. *ib.* 1905, p. 239.

⁶ *The Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. iii., p. lxxix.

accusations like any other man. Pompeius could represent to himself and to the world that he was acting in as fair a manner as possible towards his old friend by proposing that the interval between the resignation of his military command and his entry on the consulship should be so short. In these moves and counter-moves, where it was everything to gain show of fairness, this was a very plausible proposal; though in reality six weeks would have been quite long enough to effect Caesar's ruin.¹ On the other hand, if Caelius was well informed, the words 'Pompey . . . is strongly against and evidently afraid of Caesar's becoming consul-designate before handing over his army and province' suggest that the year which Caelius had in mind was 50. They can only be reconciled with the view that it was 49 by supposing that Pompey feared that the concession which he was prepared to make would prove dangerous; perhaps also that he either did not know his own mind or would not say plainly what he wished.² But, apart from this consideration, a significant passage of Hirtius proves, although Hirschfeld endeavours to turn it to his own advantage, that Caesar's government did not legally expire before the end of 50, and therefore that if Caelius meant 50, the 'settlement' which Pompey considered 'fair' was really illegal. Hirtius, describing the siege of Uxellodunum, says that the Gauls, as Caesar was aware, knew that the summer of 50 B.C. would be the last in which he would be free to deal with them (*cum omnibus Gallis notum esse sciret reliquam esse unam aestatem suaे prouinciae, quam si sustinere potuissent, nullum ultra periculum uererentur*).³ Hirtius was Caesar's intimate friend; and it is incredible that on a point like this he should have been mistaken. Hirschfeld, however, insists that his words have hitherto been misunderstood. He tells us that C. Bardt (a well-known Ciceronian scholar) pointed out to him that *unam aestatem* must mean, not the summer of 50, but the summer of 51 B.C.—the year in which the siege occurred. How, he asks, could Caesar's personal intervention in the siege have been explained by Hirtius on the ground that his only remaining summer in command was that of 50 B.C.? If he could have looked forward to another entire summer, in which he would be free to dispose of his army, why should he have been so anxious to capture Uxellodunum at once?⁴ In the light of this statement of Hirtius Hirschfeld⁵ thinks that Dio was not far wrong when he affirmed that the extension of Caesar's command had been limited to three years. But Hirschfeld's interpretation does violence to the meaning of a plain Latin sentence. It is certain that when Caesar started for Uxellodunum the summer of 51 was already far advanced; for immediately after the capture of the fort, when he went to

¹ I have not noticed the reasons which Mommsen (*Die Rechtsfrage*, etc., p. 53, n. 138) gave for believing that Caelius was thinking of 49 B.C., because they depend upon the hypothesis, which he believed that he had proved (pp. 40-1), that Caesar's command could not be

lawfully terminated before the end of February, 49.

² Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 54 and n. 140) apparently thinks that this supposition is defensible. Cf. p. 55, n. 143. ³ B.G., viii, 39, 3.

⁴ *Klio*, 1904, p. 83.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 78.

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Aquitania, only the fag-end of the summer remained.¹ Now consider the earliest chronological indication which Caesar gives in regard to his first invasion of Britain:—‘only a small part of the summer remained’ (*exigua parte aestatis reliqua*).² And only a small part of the summer of 51 B.C. remained when Caesar started for Uxellodunum. Therefore, if Hirschfeld is right, *reliquam esse unam aestatem* is equivalent to *reliquam esse exiguum partem aestatis*! If Hirtius had meant this, would he not have said it?³ If he had written *reliquos esse duos annos*, Hirschfeld will admit that he would have meant ‘two whole years.’ Why, then, should *unam aestatem* be distorted into meaning ‘a small part of one summer’? I ask Hirschfeld to look through Meusel’s *Lexicon Caesarianum*, iii., 1615 sqq. He will not find there one solitary instance in which *reliquus* or any of its cases, coupled with a noun, denotes a part only of the thing—time or what not—signified by that noun. Nothing, then, can be more certain than that, if Hirtius had intended to convey the meaning which Hirschfeld attributes to him, he would have written, not (*reliquam esse*) *unam aestatem*, but (*reliquam esse*) *exiguam partem aestatis*.

The one reason which Hirschfeld gives for accepting Bardt’s misinterpretation can be very easily disposed of. Caesar hastened in person to crush the resistance of Uxellodunum because he knew that if the garrison succeeded in defying his lieutenants, the malcontents throughout Gaul would be encouraged to prolong the guerrilla war into the summer of 50 B.C.; and he resolved that that final summer should be free from all disturbance. He had been obliged to spend eight years in coercing the Gauls: he intended to spend the last in conciliating them.⁴

Let us see whether Judeich has succeeded better than Hirschfeld. It is, he insists, certain that Caesar’s command was to terminate at the end of the year 50:⁵ that is proved unmistakably by Cicero’s words, written (between December 18 and 21⁶) to Atticus,—‘What then? Ought we to allow a man

¹ *In eam partem [sc. Aquitaniam] est prefectus, ut ibi extreum tempus consumeret aestiuorum* (*B.G.*, viii. 46, 1). Holzapfel (*Klio*, 1905, pp. 113-14) has anticipated me in calling attention to this passage.

² *B.G.*, iv. 20, 1. See also iv. 4, 7 (*reliquam partem hiemis*); v. 31, 4 (*reliqua pars noctis*); vii. 10, 1 (*reliquam partem hiemis*); vii. 25, 1 (*reliqua parte noctis*); *B.C.*, iii. 28, 6 (*reliquam noctis partem*), etc.

³ See the preceding note.

⁴ What I have written in the text disposes of the attempt which Hirschfeld made (*Klio*, 1905, p. 237) to answer Holzapfel (see n. 1 above). Hirschfeld, however, insists that even if by *unam aestatem* Hirtius meant the summer of 50, ‘this can only be used as an argument to prove that Hirtius had in view the actual facts of the case, namely, that Caesar, considering the resolutions passed by the Senate in Rome, might only remain on in Gaul for the summer of 50.’ Hirschfeld

seems to have forgotten that the Gauls could not in the summer of 51 have foretold senatorial resolutions the earliest of which were passed on the 29th of September of that year (*Fam.*, viii. 8, 5). The only way of evading the conclusion which I have drawn from the statement of Hirtius would be to adopt a theory which Watson (*op. cit.*, p. 287) notices,—that Caesar’s second term of five years was to run ‘from the day of the enactment of the consular law [*lex Pompeia Licinia*] in 55 B.C., supposed to have been November 13.’ Now on November 15, 55, Cicero, writing from Tusculum, says (*Att.* iv. 13, 2) that Crassus has already left Rome for Syria; and it is evident from the narrative of Dio (xxxix. 33-9) that the consular law had been passed long before.

⁵ *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 1-2.

⁶ O. E. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero*, p. 101.

who still retains his army after his legal term has expired to stand for the consulship? . . . Do I approve of the ten-year term of military authority, carried too in the way that it was? (*Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis, cum legis dies transierit, rationem haberi placet? . . . annorum enim decem imperium et ita latum <placet>?*¹); and by a passage in another letter, written on December 26 or 27²,—‘*You have held a province for ten years*, a term which you got not by a grant of the Senate, but by your own violence and factiousness. Now that period—not one of law but only of your own self-willed choice, but still let us say of law—has elapsed, and a vote is passed for your successor’ (*tenuisti prouinciam per decem annos, non tibi a senatu, sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos. praeterit tempus non legis, sed libidinis tuae: fac tamen legis: ut succedatur decernitur*³). Judeich admits of course that the period for which Caesar was originally appointed did not end until February 28, 54, and that the extension was to last for another five years; but he regards the difference between ten years and nine years and ten months as negligible. His point is that, since Cicero said in December, 50, first, that Caesar’s term of office was a ‘ten-year term,’ and, secondly, that he had already held office for ten years, the term legally expired at the end of that year. May I say that Judeich is very matter-of-fact and, moreover, that his literalness recoils against himself? For if he insists upon pinning Cicero down to the statement that Caesar had already ‘held a province for ten years,’ he must perforce admit that, since Cicero wrote on the 26th or the 27th of December, Caesar’s term expired, not, as he maintains, on December 29, 50, but on or before December 27; and since he understands *tenuisti* literally, why does he not take *decernitur* in the same sense, and argue that on the 26th or the 27th of December the Senate was actually appointing Caesar’s successor? To anyone who has a spark of imagination Cicero’s meaning is unmistakable. As Tyrrell⁴ puts it, ‘The senate would not make their decree appointing a successor till the beginning of January, 705 (49). So when Cicero writes *praeterit* and *decernitur* he is anticipating, and referring to what will take place in a few days, not to the actual present.’ I admit that if Cicero knew that a successor was to be appointed on the 8th of January,⁵ and if he meant that Caesar’s command would then have legally expired, Judeich’s conclusion is sound. But the letters from which Judeich quotes were evidently written in excitement; what was uppermost in Cicero’s mind was the fear that Caesar would retain his army while he was standing for the consulship; and he had already expressed regret that a successor had not been appointed in the preceding June,⁶ although, even on Judeich’s theory, he could not have taken up the appointment before the 1st of January. It seems reasonable therefore to suppose that what Cicero meant was not that the legal termination of Caesar’s command

¹ *Att.*, vii. 7, 6.

² O. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

³ *Att.*, vii. 9, 4.

⁴ *The Correspondence of Cicero*, iii. 291. Cf. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁵ *B.C.* i. 6. 5.

⁶ Cf. *Att.*, vii. 7, 5, with *Fam.*, viii. 13. 2.

would precede the appointment of his successor, but that the Senate would decree that he should resign in favour of his successor after the ten years had expired.¹

However, Judeich has other strings to his bow. By the Trebonian law, passed in 55 B.C., the province of Syria was assigned to Crassus and the provinces of Spain to Pompey, for five years. Judeich asserts that 'There is not the slightest ground to suppose that in this case there was any departure from the rule which prescribed the 1st of January of the year following the consulate as the beginning of the proconsular year,'² and accordingly he affirms that Pompey and Crassus were to hold their provinces from January 1, 54, till December 29, 50. Caesar's command, he argues, could not have outlasted that of Pompey.³ Assume, for the sake of argument, that Caesar's second term, like the first, was to end on February 28. Is it not reasonable to suppose that since 'the rule' had been departed from in the case of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus may have taken care that they also should hold office until February 28, 49? But even if Caesar's legal term was to outlast Pompey's by two months, Pompey would be practically no worse off. Since in the *lex Pompeia Licinia* a clause had been inserted providing that Caesar's successor should not be nominated before March 1, 50, we may fairly assume that in the *lex Trebonia* some similar provision had been made in the interest of Pompey. When the *lex Trebonia* was passed the *lex Sempronia* was still in force. Hirschfeld shows that so long as it remained in force Caesar could not be recalled before the end of 49; and he could stay no longer if his legal term was February 28 of that year. If Pompey chose to go to Spain, surely he too could hold his province until his successor should arrive. He did not go to Spain; but he secured himself still more effectively by providing in 52 that his command also should be prolonged for five years—in other words, till the end of 45, or perhaps till February 28, 44.

Judeich, like Hirschfeld, maintains that when Caelius said that the Senate wished Caesar to leave his province on the 13th of November, he meant of the year 50 B.C.; but here he is confronted by Hirschfeld's argument:—if (as Judeich argues) Caesar's term did not legally expire till December 29, 50, how could Pompey claim that the Senate's proposal was reasonable? 'The question,' Judeich replies, 'is here only of surmises on the part of Caelius,

¹ This view is supported by the two passages (*B.C.*, i. 2, 6; 9, 2) in which Caesar says that [on January 1, 49] the Senate resolved that he should disband his army before a specified day (*ante certam diem*), and that his enemies, by disregarding the law [of 52] which authorized him to stand for the consulship in his absence, deprived him of six months' tenure of his command (*eruptaque semenstri imperio*). Lange (*op. cit.* iii. 398) identifies *certam diem* with July 1, the last day on which Caesar could present himself in person as a candidate for the consulship. I believe that he is right, because the six months of which Caesar was to be deprived must have been the

last six months of the year (cf. *Livy, Epit.*, 108). They could not have been the first or any other six months; for if, although the law of 52 authorized him to stand for the consulship in his absence, he had been obliged to return to Rome immediately after his election, he would have gained nothing in immunity from prosecution and might just as well have returned on March 1. Evidently then his enemies, when they appointed his successor in January, 49, did not require him to resign his command until nearly six months later.

² *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, p. 3.

³ *Ib.*, p. 7.

which relate to the fact that in the Senate the proposal was mooted that Caesar should hand over his province on November 13; Pompey in his indecisive way took up no definite attitude on the matter and only let it be seen privately that the proposal was acceptable to him.' Besides, 'Caelius's description of Pompey's vacillation enables us to see clearly that even Pompey, when he concurred with the proposal of the Senate, had an uneasy conscience.'¹ Assume that what Judeich sees is true,—that the 'settlement' which Pompey considered 'fair' was not only unfair but illegal: is not this just as consistent with the view that Caesar's command was to end on February 28, 49, as with that which Judeich maintains?

Such are my grounds for thinking that 'Hirschfeld and the rest' have failed to upset Mommsen's conclusion. Unless Cicero, when he said 'ten years,' meant nine years and ten months, or rather nine years nine months and twenty-seven days, Caesar's command was assured by the *lex Pompeia Licinia* until February 28, 49 B.C.

T. RICE HOLMES.

¹ *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 6-7.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

Athenaeum (Pavia). Vol. III. No. 2. 1915.

C. Pascal quotes Horace's *Satires* I. 10, 16 sqq. with its implied criticism of Catullus and his school, and enlarges on Horace's attitude to other writers of his time. He concludes from many passages in the *Carmen Saeculare* and the *Odes* that Horace imitated Catullus as freely as Alcaeus and Archilochus, and in similar manner, but without acknowledgment of his indebtedness in the case of Catullus. C. Morelli discusses the authenticity of one of three small treatises attributed to Servius, the *De Finalibus*, *De Metris Horatii* and *De centum Metris*. The meagre treatment in the latter of a subject of which Servius must be supposed to be a master he attributes to the intention to write a useful text-book in compressed form. The date of the treatises is uncertain. Perhaps *De centum Metris* was a youthful work. G. B. Pesenti has found in a MS. fifty-nine letters of Poliziano or his friends, seven of them hitherto unedited. These letters are important to students of Renaissance Latin. Especially interesting is a letter about the production of Sophocles' *Electra* in Greek. P. Fossataro contrasts and compares Menander's *Epitrepones* with the *Hecyra* of Terence. The former he analyzes as a play à *thèse*, the latter as containing an approach to modern realism, but both as based on a 'feminist' idea of morality. O. Tescari discusses once more the question of the site of the *Fons Bandusiae*, and sums up in favour of the region of Venusia.

Vol. III. No. 3.

C. Pascal maintains that the *Scipio* of Ennius was a Satire (in the older sense). As to subject, if Lucilius could celebrate Scipio Aemilianus in a Satire, Ennius may well have celebrated Africanus. Pascal wishes to identify it with the third book. Cicero quotes some lines of Ennius which he expressly declares to have been uttered by Scipio, ending 'testes sunt Campi Magni.' But Nonius quotes the line (in the form 'testes sunt lati campi') as being in the third book of Satires. Pascal attacks the view of Skutsch that the *Scipio* was an epic poem, and differs from him also as to the order of its composition, Skutsch holding that the *Annales* was of later date, because otherwise Ennius must have repeated the subject-matter of the *Annales* in the *Scipio*. But Pascal argues that the *Annales* were an account of Scipio's wars, and the *Scipio* a defence, with a rapid survey of his hero's whole life and a tribute to his greatness. A lengthy commentary follows on the 'fragments.' F. Ribezzo, in an article on Etymological Anomalies, discusses: (1) Thraco-phryg. *βέκος*, 'pane,' Alban. *buke* 'pane'; (2) *αῖροι*, *λαγωί*, *γλωττῶν* 'Italikón'; (3) Grk. *σιδηρος*, Lat. *sidus*, -*eris*; (4) Illyr. *Sabája*; (5) Messap. *βίσθην*, *δρέπανον*, *ἀγυπελοτόμον*. F. Guglielmino offers yet another solution of *Carmen* 68 of Catullus as follows: lines 1-40 are a genuine letter to his friend Manlius. The lines after 40 were written under different circumstances, are of earlier date than 1-40, and are addressed to Allius. They were, however, recast by the poet at different times, and Guglielmino regards lines 91-100, 135-141 as insertions. But it is impossible to regard the poem as a unit.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1915.

Aug. 28 (double number). J. Vahlen, *Beiträge zu Aristoteles' Poetik*. Neudruck besorgt von Hermann Schöne (H. F. Müller). A reprint of work published in 1865-7. W. Klein, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*. Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte. 13. Beiheft (A. Klotz). A study of the sources used by A. A. Steinwenter, *Beiträge zum öffentlichen Urkundenwesen der Römer* (von Druffel). J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*. III. 1, 2 (Lammert). This review, concluded in the following number, discusses the battles of Cannae and Zama at considerable length. F. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs und Optativs in den griechischen Dialektien*.

Sept. 4. E. Drerup, *Die Anfänge der hellenischen Kultur. Homer*. II. Ed. (J. Ziehen). H. Roese, *De Ovidii codice Gissensi* (Tolkiehn). Includes a complete collation of this MS. with the text of Merkel-Ehwald. The work is not always accurate. F. Studniczka, *Das Symposion Ptolemaios II*. Mit 51 Abbild. im Text und 3 Taf. (v. Behr). The picture of the tent given in this treatise is reproduced in the tenth edition (1915) of the *Hdbch. der Kunstgeschichte* by Springer, Michaelis and Wolters. The reviewer discusses the structure as an architect.

Sept. 11. A. Elter, *Ein athenisches Gesetz über die eleusinische Aparche* (Wide). On an inscription, important for constitutional history, recording a resolution of the *vouoθέται*, printed in Michel, *Rec. d'inscr. Gr.* suppl. I., 1912, No. 1459, and in I. G. II². No. 140. E. Rüsch, *Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften*. I. Lautlehre (Nachmanson). Highly praised.

Sept. 18. A. Gudeman, *P. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus*. II. Ed. (John). The long Prolegomena are the most valuable part; the commentary is weak on grammatical points. A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasiens* (Gerland). Heft 4 and 5 with a Register to the whole work. Haug und Sixt, *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*. II. Ed. (G. Wolff).

Sept. 25. A. Chatzis, *Der Philosoph und Grammatiker Ptolemaios Chennos*. I. Leben, Schriftstellerei und Fragmente (except the Life of Aristotle). I. Einleitung und Text (Berndt). This will be the standard book on Ptolemaeus. The Commentary is to be published 1915. Christ's *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* needs revision on this writer. P. Rasi, *Gli studi recenti sull' epitafio di Alia Potestas e la metrica del carme* (Tolkiehn). Found in 1912 in the Via Salaria, Rome; date about 300 A.D.

Oct. 2. F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Preuschen). The book, which has been carefully revised, may be recommended to all who wish to make themselves acquainted with the principles of N.T. textual criticism. S. Feist, *Indogermanen und Germanen*. Ein Beitrag zur europäischen Urgeschichtsforschung (Hermann). G. Wolff contributes to this number a paper on Archäologische Bodenforschung in Hessen.

Oct. 9. L. Koettgen, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Indagatores jubalam Sophocleam et hymnum in Mercurium qui fertur Homerius* (Bucherer). An able and learned dissertation. O. Morelli, *Apuleiana III., IV.* (Helm). J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (Anthes). Useful for giving a general idea of Cyprian antiquities, not only those in the New York Museum. R. Kleinpaul, *Das Seelenleben im Spiegel der Sprache* (Meltzer). Lightly written but full of learning.

Oct. 16. E. Kalinka, *Xenophontis qui inscribitur libellus 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* ed. E. K. (Nestle). Teubner text with app. crit. (fuller than in K.'s large edition), Latin Introduction on the MSS. and editions. V. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (Tolkiehn). The writer of this dissertation knows the literature of the subject well and contributes some new ideas.

Oct. 23. M. Ahle, *Sprachliche und kritische Untersuchungen zu Columella* (Schmalz). On C.'s use of the gerund and gerundive and on the text of a number of passages.

M. Richter, *Priscorum poetarum et scriptorum de se et aliis iudicia* (Klotz). Goes down to the time of Cicero.

Oct. 30. J. Kohler und L. Wenger, *Orientalisches Recht und Recht der Griechen und Römer* (Soltau). A section of 'Die Kultur der Gegenwart.' Useful to the scholar. A. Merlin, *Forum et Maisons d'Althiburos* (Oehler).

Nov. 6. F. Postma, *De numine divino quid senserit Vergilius* (Tolkiehn). The author disagrees with the views expressed by MacInnes in *C.R.*, 1910, pp. 169 sqq. 'The conception of Fata in the *Aeneid*.' G. L. Bisoffi, *Il Contra Symmachum di Aurelio Prudenzio Clemente* (Weyman). This study throws some light on the poem. Fr. Boehm, *Die Schrift des Giglio Gregorio Giraldi über die Symbole des Pythagoras* (B. A. Müller). Shows that G. himself composed the work which he attributed to Plutarch: 'in libellum quendam incidi cui titulus est: *Pythagorica paecepta mystica a Plutarcho interpretata*'

Nov. 13. J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe néo-platonicien* (Jaeger). R. Berndt contributes to this and the two following numbers 'Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Habron,' a complete text with notes.

Nov. 20. Fr. Eisemann, *Anaximenea* (Wilke). In the first part of this dissertation there is a valuable study of the order of words. In the second part the author tries, less successfully, to show that the papyrus (Hibeh 26) is of comparatively little value for the constitution of the text. J. Weber, *Quaestiorum grammaticarum specimen* (Tolkiehn). A careful examination of the ancient evidence for the pronunciation of *c*, *g*, *k*. In many cases the statements of the grammarians are traced back to Varro.

Classical Weekly (New York). Vol. IX. 1915.

Oct. 2. C. Favre, *Thesaurus Verborum quae in titulis Ionicis leguntur cum Herodoteo sermone comparatus* (E. H. Sturtevant). 'Each word and meaning are diligently compared with Herodotus' usage, if the word appears in Herodotus.' H. S. Gehman, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients: a Study Based on Greek and Latin Sources* (C. W. Peplier).

Oct. 9. Austin Smyth, *The Composition of the Iliad. An Essay on a Numerical Law in its Structure* (G. M. Bolling). 'Mr. Smyth has laid his hand upon a pressing problem—the need of getting back to the original articulations of the poem.'

Oct. 16. W. W. Mooney, *The House-door on the Ancient Stage* (R. C. Flickinger). 'When a back-scene was introduced in the Athenian theatre, therefore, its doors were made to conform to what must still have been the normal practice, and from this precedent theatrical doors continued to open outwards not only in Greece but also in Italy. . . .' C. P. Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil* (G. P. Hadzsits). 'The work is of real value for students of Roman history and religion as well as for students of Virgil's literary technique.' H. McN. Poteat, *Repetition in Latin Poetry with Special Reference to the Metrical Treatment of Repeated Words* (G. Howe). K. P. Harrington, *The Roman Elegiac Poets*, edited with Introduction and Notes by K. P. H. (H. L. Cleasby).

Oct. 30. T. Rice Holmes, C. Iuli Caesaris *Commentarii Rerum in Gallia Gestarum VII.* A. Hirti, *Commentarius VIII.*, edited by T. R. H. (Gonzalez Lodge). 'All this material [in the Introduction], while presented briefly, is characterized by the clearness, cogency and virility which we have come to associate with Mr. Holmes's name.' A. A. Howard, *Latin Selections* (F. F. Abbott). 'The work is intended to illustrate public life in the Roman Commonwealth in the time of Cicero.'

Nov. 13. R. T. Elliott, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (F. G. Allinson). 'In any case, Greek scholars must be grateful to the editor for his unsparing labour in obtaining and reviewing his data.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1915.

Sept. 4. L. Wenger, *Recht der Griechen u. Römer* (Koschaker). Of interest both for the specialist and the general reader. A. Krieger, *De Aululariae Plautinae exemplari Graeco* (Bickel). The prototype seems certainly to have been Menander's. J. Kothe, *Die Baukunst des kl. Altertums und ihre Entwicklung* (v. Bezold). An excellent book. F. Stählin, *Pharsalos*.

Sept. 11. R. Methner, *Lateinische Syntax des Verbums* (Debrunner). Merits and defects are alike great. H. Zinsmeister, *Die Anfangsverse von Sophokles' Antigone*.

Sept. 18. Fr. Schleiermacher, *Platons Phaidros*, übers. von F. S.; new edition by C. Wayte, with many alterations of S.'s translation.

Sept. 25. G. P. Oikonomos, 'Επιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας (v. Gaertringen). The editor shows great learning and powers of interpretation. G. Heidrich, *Claudius Rutilius Namatianus*. With introd. and critical notes by G. H. (Moeller). Of permanent value.

Oct. 2. W. L. Friedrich, *Zu Cassius Dio LXI. 10 u. Seneca De constantia IX. 2* (Bickel). A defence of the writer's position.

Oct. 9. L. Parmentier, *Recherches sur le traité d'Isis et d'Osiris de Plutarque* (Ziegler).

Oct. 16. A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente d. griech. Kunstschriftsteller*, ges. von A. T. (Pfeiffer). Diligent and careful work. F. Studniczka, *Die griech. Kunst an Kriegergräbern* (Robert). Striking characterization and excellent treatment.

Oct. 23. E. Scheer, *Studien zu den Dramen des Aeschylus* (Fischl). Ingenious, but hardly convincing. Lehmann-Haupt, *Solon of Athens, the poet merchant and statesman* (Regling).

Oct. 30. J. Sundwall, *Weströmische Studien* (Rosenberg). An excellent work. C. C. Conrad, *The technique of continuous action in Roman comedy* (M. Köhm). The carefulness and sound method of the author deserve recognition.

Nov. 6. A. Maidhof, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Koine* (Wolff). Highly praised. P. Rowald, *Repertorium lat. Wörterverzeichnisse und Speziallexika*.

Nov. 13. M. Weber, *Lukians von Samosata sämtliche Werke*, übers. von M. W. (Stamm). A model translation. F. Paulus, *Prospeographie der Beamten des 'Απονομῆς vōpos in der Zeit von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (Viereck). Composed with great care.

Nov. 20. H. Geist, *De L. A. Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum codicibus*.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1915. VI.-IX.

C. Zander, *Eurythmia*. II. *Numeri Latini aetas integra*; III. *Eurythmia Ciceronis* (Münscher). The critic, whilst praising much of the work, is unconvinced of the principal assertions. A. Heisenberg u. L. Wenger, *Byz. Papyri der R. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München* (Partsch). The commentary is excellent, and the legal terms are well explained. E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Heraeus). An excellent book. H. Magnus, *Ovidii Metamorphoseon libri XV.* (Helm). The editor deserves gratitude. E. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (Pasquali). As important as the author's *Kunstprosa*. F. Studniczka, *Das Symposium Ptolemaios' II.* (Rubensohn). The book is instructive and stimulating even where it is not convincing.

Hermes. L. 4. 1915.

A. Klotz, *Zu den Quellen der 4 u. 5 Dekaden des Livius*. 1. Die spanischen Provinzen zwischen den 2 punischen und 3 makedonischen Kriegen. K. agrees with Kahrstedt that the differences between books 38 and 39 point to the use of different sources; but as the variations are insignificant, the tradition seems to be generally reliable. 2. Valerius Antias und Cl. Quadrigarius. Up to the end of bk. 38 V. A. is the principal source for the events in Spain; from bk. 39 onwards,

C.Q. E. von Stern, *Kleomenes III. u. Archidamos*. Plutarch is right in stating that A. was killed ἀκοντος τοῦ Κλεορένος. K. Ziegler, *Die Genesisitat in der Schrift περὶ ἴψους*. This was inserted by a Christian. O. Lenze, *Zu Heraklit. fr. 26* (Diels). A restoration and interpretation.

Mnemosyne. XLIII. 4. 1915.

C. W. Vollgraff deals with nine Argive inscriptions belonging to the third century B.C. which have been recently discovered. Of these two are almost complete. They contain decrees in honour of foreigners. Vollgraff attempts to restore, interpret and date them. J. J. Hartmann writes on the *Epitaph of Allia Potestas*, inscribed on a stone discovered some years ago, and containing some fifty-two verses. The epitaph is interesting as being the work of an uneducated person attempting to write in the style of Virgil or Horace, but making frequent errors in metre and quantity. A. Rutgers van der Loeff, on the *Oschophoria*, collects the passage in ancient authors which throw light on the festival. In its original form he regards it as an initiation ceremony by which the ephebi were admitted into the ranks of the men of the community. J. C. Naber continues his *Observations on Roman Law*. The present paper, entitled *De Nilo censitore*, deals with the laws in force in Egypt (particularly during the Roman period) relating to the assessment of lands the boundary-stones of which had been lost and the area altered by the action of the river. P. H. Damsté, on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 95-97, suggests the reading ὄμφαλον for ὄφθαλμόν in the last line. J. J. Hartmann on Soph. *Trach.* 706-710 proposes to read θνήσκειν for θνήσκων in 707. L. Rank on Ovid *Amor.* I. 8. 57 sq. discusses an article by D. A. Slater (*Class. Rev.* Dec. 1913, pp. 257 sq.). He accepts neither the interpretation there proposed nor the emendation suggested as an alternative, but would read 'ecce quid iste tuus praeter noua carmina uates | donat? amatoris millia multa se ges.'

Revue de Philologie. Vol. XXXIX. Part 1. 1915.

E. Cavaignac, *Quelques remarques sur l'historicité de Tite-Live XXI.-XLV*. An attempt to show that Livy's authorities had access to original documents of great importance, especially to those preserved in the archives of the Senate. B. Haussoullier, *Décrets de Nicopolis d'Épire*. An examination of an inscription recently discovered by Greek excavators in Epirus. S. Reinach, *Les communiqués de César*. A discussion of Caesar, B.G. i. 30-36, which, it is maintained, embodies two contradictory accounts. A. Reinach, *Notes critiques aux chapitres de Pline relatifs à l'histoire de l'art*. Continued from Vol. 38, p. 245. Discusses: (1) The two Aristeides and the Theban School. (2) Nikias and Praxiteles. Were there two artists with these names? (3) Aetion and the marriage of Alexander and Roxane. (4) The Paralos and Hammonias of Protogenes. (5) Did Apelles paint two pictures of Aphrodite?

BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE: Review of O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*.

Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica. XLIII. 1. 1915.

E. Bignone, *New studies in Epicurean texts and doctrines*. Contains emendations of two papyrus fragments of Philodemus from Herculaneum, and discusses their relation to the doctrine of Epicurus. F. Ribezzo, (1) *On the etymology and meaning of the words gloria, Lar, and telum*; (2) *On the origin of the single oblique case in the dual in Greek*, discussing the views of Brugmann and Hirt, and advancing fresh arguments. F. Stabile, *The latinity of the new Psalter published from Codex Casinensis 557*. A long article on the morphology, phonology, vocabulary and syntax of this Psalter, edited by Dom. Antonio Amelli (Rome, 1912): the editor's ascription of it to Rufinus of Aquileia is rejected, and it is argued that the vocabulary points to a much later date. E. Stampini, *The painter Marcus Plautius*. A new interpretation of the well-known epigram in the temple of Juno at Ardea recorded by Pliny (*N.H.* 35. 10). Abandoning the view that 'Loco' is a proper name and punctuating 'Dignis digna loco.'

Picturis condecorauit, etc.,' the writer translates 'For the worthy painter rewards worthy of or suitable to the place': i.e. a statue or bust of the painter would have been out of place in the temple, and the inscription of his name 'in ipsa pictura' was an honour properly given to him. G. Furlani, ὁ δένρυγχος χαρακτήρ. A vigorous polemic against the view of Mentz (*Rh. Mus.* 68) that this phrase means a form of writing derived from or current in the city of Oxyrhynchus. E. Fay, *De latebris litterarum in glande saxe Saepinati Osce inscriptis*. Offers a new interpretation of an Oscan inscription edited by Kent in *I.F.* 32. 196. 'Kuru' in the second line is held to be equivalent to 'nux' used *sensu obsceno* for 'testiculus,' and the English slang use of 'nut' is held to have the same origin. The numeral IIIV. which precedes 'kuru' is explained as 'tertius' = *testis* = *testiculus*. F. H. Fobes, *On a passage of Aristotle*. Argues for the reading *dei τε πλατυτέρα* in Arist. *Meteor.* II. 3. 358b 12, instead of the *άει πλατυτέρα* of the Berlin editors. G. L. Bisoffi, *On Aesch. Ag. 1119-1124*. After a résumé of the many renderings proposed for this passage suggests a new explanation of ξυνανύτει αὐγάσι. ἀνώ having often in tragedy the sense of 'going,' ξυνανύτω may, like the Latin 'concedere,' mean to retire or withdraw. The phrase will then refer to the pallor of death: the blood 'retires or disappears' from the face.

Wochenschrift der klassischen Philologie. 1915.

July 26 (double number). A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* (Nestle). A most valuable piece of work. J. E. Harry, *The Greek Tragic Poets* (Busche). The positive results do not quite correspond to the labour and ingenuity devoted to the work. F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*. 3 ed. (Zimmermann). Helpful. C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire* (Rosenberg). Valuable. G. Rudberg, *Neutestamentlicher Text und Nomina sacra* (Larfeld). A laudatory review. J. B. Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii* (Nikos A. Bees).

Aug. 9. W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabe-urkunden aus dem V. Jahrh.* (W. Larfeld). An appreciative review. J. Ziehen, *Bemerkungen zu Lucan's Pharsalia*.

Aug. 16 (double number). W. Hartmann, *De quinque aetatibus Hesiodis* (Seeliger). Shows industry. F. Sommer, (1) *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*. 2 and 3 ed. (2) *Kritische Erläuterungen zur lat. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Walde). Excellent work: the author has a sound feeling for probability.

Aug. 23. K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum capita quinque* (Fehrle). The material is well digested. M. San Nicolò, *Aegyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer u. Römer* (Wiedemann). A pioneer study of social organization in the wider sense. E. T. Goodspeed, *The Bixby Gospels* (Larfeld).

Sept. 6. E. Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters* (Blümner). The reviewer is not always in agreement. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienst Ägyptens in der griech. Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit* (Gemoll). Thorough and practical.

Sept. 13. O. Apelt, *Platons Dialog Sophistes*. Übers. u. erläutert von O. A. (Berndt). Valuable. P. Gotzes, *De Ciceronis tribus generibus dicendi* (Nohl). A thorough study. A. S. Pease, *Medical allusions in the works of St. Jerome* (Fuchs).

Sept. 20. G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian clubs in politics and litigation* (Cauer). C. Ritter, *Platons Dialog Phaidros*. Übers. u. erläutert von C. R. (Gillischewski). Exact and clear. F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griech. Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*. Heft 2 (Viereck). Exceptionally valuable.

Sept. 27. G. Wissowa-Kroll-Witte, *Pauly's Realencyclopädie*. Second series, Ra-Ryon (Harder). Severely compressed. A. G. Roper, *Ancient Eugenics* (Cauer).

Oct. 4. G. Rudberg, *Zum sogenannten zehnten Buch der aristotelischen Tiergeschichte* (Lehnert). C. Lanzani, *Mario e Sulla* (Gelzer). Not to be taken seriously.

Oct. 11. O. Friebel, *Fulgentius der Mythograph u. Bischof* (Bögel). The material does not bear out the writer's conclusions. M. Arnaudov, *Rites et légendes bulgares*. A work in the Bulgarian language. Favourably reviewed by N. A. Bees.

Oct. 18. E. Pokorny, *Studien zur griech. Geschichte im IV. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Cauer). The reviewer is favourable. E. Petersen, *Otto Jahn in seinen Briefen* (Güthling).

Oct. 25. M. Valeton, *De Iliadis fontibus et compositione* (Stürmer). The reviewer, an adherent of the unity theory, finds the standpoint obsolete. Ida Kapp, *Callimachi Hecala fragmenta* (Könnecke). A convenient collection, not making any considerable advance in the interpretation.

Nov. 1. H. Güntert, *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen u. Altgriechischen* (Wagner). Important and almost always convincing. G. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Larfeld).

Nov. 8. Val. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* (Engelhardt). C. P. Gunning, *De Sophistis Graeciae praeceptoribus* (Nestle). H. Fischer, *Quaestiones Aeneanae* (Wagner). A valuable study of A. Tacticus.

Nov. 15. G. Andresen, *Korrumpierte Eigennamen bei Tacitus*. Th. Stangl, *Lexikalischs; expedientia and parulogium in Boethius*.

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. VI. 4. 1915.

SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE OF 1912. Greek by Kretschmer; Latin Etymology, etc., by Felix Hartmann; Latin Metric, Syntax, etc., by Kroll. Review of second edition of Hirt's *Handbuch*. Witte: $\pi\alpha\acute{s}$ (—): $\pi\alpha\acute{d}\delta\acute{o}s$ (—). Ehrlich: Expiratory accent in Greek from middle of fourth century B.C.; Apocope; grave accent a middle tone. Wackernagel's accounting for lack of vocative *θε \acute{e} rejected. Drewitt: original present value of augment ε-. Nazari: δά \acute{a} κονος, $\alpha<\ddot{a}+\ddot{a}$; ἀγκόνοντος. διακόνοντος: Sabine *ancus* 'serous.' Schwyzer: κατ' αὐτηστιν (-στι-: Skr. -sti- 'stans'). E. Thomas: νυμφ[νφ]δοματα. Charlotte Fränkel: Ομρίκος (Corinthian bowl)=Umbricus. Schwyzer: Cypr. παFίω: Lat. *pauio*: παύω [see *AJPh.* XXVI. 188; 405]. Kretschmer rejects Solmsen's Σιληνός = 'snub-nose' [*Class. Rev.* XXIII. 208] for his own derivation [*Gl.* IV. 351 sq.] from Thracian ζιλα, Kühner's *Lat. Grammatik*: new edition disparaged. Persson: denies Lat. ér<ri; p-<tu-. Wackernagel (after Sommer): Latin gen. in -ius: Skr. in -sya (accepted). Brugmann: Lat. impf. subj. compounded of infin. + a form of *ire* (amāre + ēm, etc.); not explicitly rejected. Collitz: Lat. *ii*=Skr. *iye*. Fay: sharp polemic against his explanations by suffixation (in *KZ.* XLV. 111-133; *AJPh.* XXXIII. 377-400; XXXIV. 15-42). Thurneysen: *litigare* modelled on *remex*, *remigare* [but cf. *nāuigare*: Skr. *nāvāja*, Av. *nāvāza-* 'nauta']. Wood: polemic against his etymological method. E. Thomas: Petronius' *babaecalus*=βαβαὶ καλός (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 272); in 63. 3 read *cac<l>i<s>tus* (from *κατάκλευτος*) for *caccitus*. Gruenler: *etquis, equis*. Wackernagel: *Rud.* 135, *aula extaris*, by (sentence) dissimilation for *aula *extalis*. Persson: Lat. *feve, ferme* 'mostly': *fert*; cf. OHG. *bora-lang* 'very long'; *fluit*: [οιο-]φλύξ, cf. πομ-φόλυξ; *for[c]lis*: Skr. *brhati* 'fattens'; *fremit*: θρέμει, OHG. *brenwan* (IE. *bh* / *b*); *inuitare*: Skr. *veti* 'seeks,' Slav. *vitati* 'welcome'; *stolo*: στόλος 'prow' [*AJPh.* XXXIV. 19]; *t[v]ā-ma* 'swelling': *tumeo*; *uia*: Skr. [pada-]vī, [cf. *uena* (? Osc. *am-vianud* 'circuitu'). Havet: *funus* / *foenus*. E. Thomas: *madulsa*: *madet* + *mulsa*. Wackernagel: *mar[t]i-tus*; Lith. *marti-* 'bride.' Hirt: *miles*: ὄμηλος, Skr. *samihā-m* 'proelium.' Thurneysen: *pur[t]igare*: πῦρ [πῦρ: *purus* in *AJPh.* XXVI. 192]. Baehrens: *Beitraege z. Lat. Syntax*. Wackernagel: The 'Historical' Future. Methner: *aliquis*: *quisquam*. F. H. Fowler: *quin* not= 'why not,' but *x*.

Lejay: parenthetic *-que* in *absque* [Kroll's objection fails to reckon with the common interruption, at or near the beginning of a sentence, of the stream of thought. Touching *quod* 'though,' Kroll is right]. Latin word-order: review of works by H. Schneider, Marouzeau, Kieckers, Rhys Roberts. Schoenwitz, *re-* in compounds. Prosody and metre: G. Jackmann on 'The Iambic Law' (important).

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXXIV. 5. 1914-15.

N. van Wijk, *Das litauische langvokalische Präteritum.* H. H. Bender, *The accent of Sanskrit mant- and -vant.* J. Compernass, *Vulgärlateinisches.* 1. *mactare* 'schlagen, prügeln.' 2. *nihilominus* 'gleichfalls, ebenso.' Karl Brugmann, (i.) *Die Entstehung des altindischen Prekativs*; (ii.) *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Nomina mit Formans -ti.* To the rare Latin words with the simple formative *-ti-* (as in Greek *ὅπατις*) instead of the common extension *-tion-*, like *satias* belongs also *damnas*, which does not differ essentially from *damnatio*. With these belong also a large number of masculine concretes or adjectives of Old Italic (*nostras*, etc., *penates*, *Arpinas*, *Quirites*). Oscan *senateis*, and Umbrian *fratrecate* and *maronatei* are interpreted from this point of view. (iii.) *Zwei oskische Adverbialbildungen.* 1. *ekss, ex.* It is maintained in opposition to Skutsch that this form is to be connected with *ekkum*. 2. *púkkapíd* [*p*] *capid pocipit* arises from *pod*, *kará* and the indefinite particle *-pid*, which corresponds to Old Indic *cit*. E. Kieckers, *Zur 2. sing. des aktiven Imperfekts und zur 3. sing. des aktiven Imperativer des Präsens im Altirischen.* Indices. *ANZEIGER FÜR INDOGERMANISCHE SPRACH- UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE.* XXXIV. 1915. Reviews of H. Adjarian, *Classification des Dialectes Arméniens*; Lübker, *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums.* 8 Aufl.; Hatzidakis, *Ἑλληνικὰ μελέται*; Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*; Nichols, *The semantic variability and semantic equivalents of -oso- and -lento-*. John Ries, *Zur Gliederung der Syntax und der Gesamtgrammatik.* Polemic against certain criticisms of the author's views advanced by the late Richard M. Meyer.

XXXV. 1 and 2. 1915.

E. Kieckers, *Zur oratio recta in den indogermanischen Sprachen.* I. An elaborate study of the modes of introducing direct quotations, illustrated by hundreds of examples, many of them from non-indogermanic languages. K. Brugmann, *Über einige zu ὀνίνηται gehörige Nominalformen.* The Cyprian name read 'Ovájós' by Sittig is shown to be the adjective *óváios*. † R. Wilsdorf, *Ein altlateinischer Dativ der fünften Deklination auf -iei.* Emends the second line of the Scipio inscr. CIL. I. 38 to *progeniei ingenui*. O. A. Danielsson, *Zu einer arkadischen Verbalform.* ἀψευδήνων ἀν of IG. V. 2. 343, is interpreted as an optative after the analogy of the postulated **φέρο(i)a* form. E. Kieckers, *Armenisches.* C. Cappeller, *Noch zwölf Pasakos.* Fairy tale texts in the Lithuanian dialect of south-eastern Prussia. F. Holthausen, *Etymologien.* 3. *apis* is connected with *opus*. St. Mladenov, *Etymologisches.* K. Treimer, *Der albanische Nationalname.* H. Hirt, *Zur Verbalflexion.* I. *Zum äolischen Optativ.* The Aorist optative in *-je-* is regarded as very primitive, and used to explain the Latin imperfect subjunctive, whose correspondence is regularly with the optative in other languages. 2. *Lat.* *nouit* = *ags.* *cnēow*. N. A. Dekawalles, *Ein hesychisches Nachwort für 'onomatopoëtisches Gebilde.'* A gloss in Hesychius is thus divided: *μάματα* · *ποίημα* · *τὰ βρόματα*, and compared with *μαμμάν* · *ἐπὶ τῆς παιδικῆς φωνῆς* · *ἐσθέαν*. The word *ποίημα* must then be assigned the hitherto unrecognized meaning of *ονοματοποία*.

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